



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

JOSEPH McCARTHY

PART 19 OF 28

BUFILE NUMBER: 121-23278 (SUB A)

SUBJECT Joseph McCarthy
FILE NUMBER 121-23278-A
SECTION NUMBER _____

Democrat Say McCarthy Case May Be 'Hoax'

Karsten of Missouri
Calls Many Charges
Old, Asks Inquiry

By Cecil Holland

Representative Karsten, Democrat, of Missouri today urged an investigation to determine whether a "hoax, a deceit or a fraud" has been practiced on the American people in the charges of Communism in the State Department.

Mr. Karsten said he had examined the cases cited by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin in his attacks on the State Department. He added that his analysis shows that "many, if not all of them" were investigated by House committees two years ago.

The Missourian said he demanded communism as much as the American people that these attacks and hated "the decent cases Senator McCarthy has in his mind are of recent origin," the Missourian continued. "Any impression that the American people might have that this is a matter of recent origin is completely erroneous."

Karsten to Speak in House.

He added:

"But for these very same reasons I would have complete contempt for any one who, through deceit, fraud, would seek to in flame and hoodwink the American people with the assertion that the State Department of their Government has harbored or is saturated with Communists."

There was no immediate reply from Senator McCarthy, who is in Phoenix, Ariz., for treatment of a sinus condition. Mr. Karsten's suggestion was made in a statement in advance of a speech he planned to give on the House floor later in the day.

It came as the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee investigating the McCarthy charges began a busy week with a hint that "valuable material" may be disclosed soon.

He came from Chairman McCarthy's question Miss Lattimore in this whole session.

Far Tomorrow.

Senator McCarthy has accused Mr. Lattimore, Far Eastern affairs expert, of being a Communist and a Soviet agent who has influenced American policy in the Orient. He has indicated Miss Ulley, who he has identified as a former Communist, will support his charges.

Mr. Lattimore, who has denied all the accusations, is scheduled for a second appearance before the Senate group tomorrow.

In his statement, Mr. Karsten

(See COMMUNISTS Page A-3.)

Communists

(Continued From First Page.)

said many if not all of the cases cited by Senator McCarthy were investigated by a House Expenditures Subcommittee, in which he was a member, and a House appropriations group more than two years ago.

"The allegation has either been made or the impression conveyed to the American people that these cases Senator McCarthy has in his mind are of recent origin," the Missourian continued. "Any impression that the American people might have that this is a matter of recent origin is completely erroneous."

Karsten Calls for Facts.

Mr. Karsten added that in view of strained work conditions it was of "vital importance" to determine whether the McCarthy charges were rehashing old cases, and he said:

"I cannot in good conscience sit idly by and see the American people confused with distrust of their own Government at a time when our Nation needs the greatest unity of purpose in its history to meet the world menace of Soviet Russia and the slavery and degradation which it would impose on all mankind. It is important in the interests of the country that the matter I have presented be looked into and the facts obtained and disclosed."

The hint of new material in the inquiry came from Senator Tydings in his weekly broadcast. Saying he had accumulated "a vast amount" of valuable material to be turned over to the committee, the chairman added:

"There are some things I happen to know that have never fully come out to the people and to the Senate and even to the committee. In view of those things which may come to notice this week, it might be well for everyone to be a little extra, includ-

our own self, on reach conclusions about in this whole

McCarthy 1

Senator Tydings gave no hint of the material he has accumulated or on what phase of the committee's investigation of the McCarthy charges that they will touch.

Senator McCarthy had a quick retort, meanwhile, for the week-end denials by former Secretaries of State Hull, Byrnes and Marshall, and by Dean Acheson, present Secretary, that Mr. Lattimore had been "the principal architect" of this country's Far Eastern policies.

Their denials, disclosed by Senator Tydings Saturday, covered the period from 1932 except the span when the late Edward Stettinius was secretary between the terms of Mr. Hull and Mr. Byrnes.

"If Mr. Lattimore was not the salesman for the Communist Party," the Associated Press reported Senator McCarthy as saying, "then I ask Mr. Acheson and his friends who did the selling jobs."

"Almost Gone Bankrupt."

In a separate transcribed radio program broadcast here over the week end, Senator McCarthy renewed his criticism of President Truman and the Democratic members of the committee for the way the inquiry has been conducted.

He said he has "almost gone bankrupt" hiring former Federal Bureau of Investigation agents to develop facts which already are in Government files and which he should not have to develop. He alluded to FBI files which President Truman has denied the committee.

"I believe Mr. Truman honestly

thinks that the real criminal is not the Communist in Government but the man who tries to get him out," Senator McCarthy said.

He also charged that Senators Tydings and McMahon of Connecticut, another Democratic member of the committee, were playing politics in the inquiry. He added that committee investigators under Senator Tydings have "done nothing so far as investigating is concerned."

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81 'Red' Cases 2 1/2 Years Old, House Is Told

Representative Frank M. Karsten (D., Mo.), yesterday provided documentation to show that the famous "81 cases" of Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) are two and one half years old and were previously investigated by two House subcommittees.

Karsten showed further that the second subcommittee inquiring into the question, with a Republican majority in the Eightieth Congress, concluded its investigation did not even warrant a report, because "it was felt the State Department was handling the situation in a satisfactory manner."

The 81 cases of individuals allegedly employed by the State De-

partment and allegedly pro-Communist or—at a minimum poor security risks, were outlined to the Senate in a speech by McCarthy on February 20.

Taken From List of 108

The majority, if not all of them, Karsten said yesterday in a statement and a House speech, are taken from a list of 108 cases considered during the making of fiscal year 1949 appropriations for the State Department by a House Subcommittee on Appropriations. Then, on March 10 and 12, 1948, the same 108 cases were studied by a House Subcommittee on Expenditures in Executive Departments.

Karsten presented a parallel column analysis on nine of the cases to show similarity and often identity in language between McCarthy's statement of the cases and their summary in the 108 list given to the two House Subcommittees. Karsten's analysis also provided the first suggestion of how McCarthy arrived at a figure—used in various of his Lincoln Day speeches that precipitated the present investigation of Communist infiltration—of "57 card-carrying Communists in the State Department."

Hearings Showed 57 Employed

Of the 108 cases considered by the second House Subcommittee, Karsten said, "hearings developed that 57 of the individuals were employed in March, 1948, and 51 were not employed. Of the 51 not employed, 23 had never worked for the State Department but were applicants for positions." The remaining 28 had resigned or were discharged.

Thus, it appears that in discussing 81 cases in February of this year, McCarthy was actually talking about employees or applicants for State Department jobs as of a date 2 1/2 years ago.

And when he said that there were "now" 57 Communists in the department, he was referring to the fact that two years ago there were 57 people in the State Department who, in preliminary investigation by the department's security division, were thought to be poor security risks.

Investigated and Approved

Many of these, however, were subsequently given a full field in-

vestigation by the FBI and were approved by the State Department. As of March, 1948, Karsten said, this was true with respect to more than half of the 57.

As of today, The Washington Post learned yesterday, 40 of the original 108 (and by the same token, of the 57 and of the 81) are still employed by the State Department. All have received full security clearance through the State Department's loyalty procedure, and the postaudit of President's Loyalty Review Board.

Said Karsten:

"The allegation has either been made or the impression conveyed to the American people that these cases Senator McCarthy has in mind are of recent origin. . . . There is nothing new about the majority, if not all, of the cases mentioned by Senator McCarthy. "Any impression that the American people might have that this is a matter of recent origin is completely erroneous. My analysis of these cases shows that many, if not all of them, were included among the 108 cases investigated.

Would Probe for Hoax

"If so, inquiry should be made as to whether or not a hoax, a deceit or a fraud has been practiced somewhere, by someone, upon the American people."

Karsten said he detested communism "as the most sinister, Godless concept ever conceived to enslave mankind," and that he hated "the deceit, the fraud, the intellectual dishonesty that are the inveterate handmaidens of communism."

But, he said, for the same reasons, "I would have complete contempt for anyone who, through deceit or fraud would seek to inflame and hoodwink the American people with the assertion that the State Department of their Government has harbored or is saturated with Communists.

"I cannot, in good conscience, sit idly by and see the American people confused with distrust of their own Government at a time when our Nation needs the greatest unity of purpose in its history to meet the world menace of Soviet Russia and the slavery and degradation which it would impose upon all mankind."

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Copy to New York
1 Jaffe

Amerasia Judge Wasn't Told of Jaffe's Red Ties

(NOTE: Almost five years ago the Amerasia case came to an obscure end in a rare Saturday session of District Court here, remarkable for the fact that the judge learned as little about the case as the public has before or since. Today Scripps-Howard Staff Writer Frederick Woltman, who has investigated the bewildering facets of the case which produced more stolen Government documents than Whittaker Chambers, tells of this strange legal climax in the third of a series of stories.)

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Philip J. Jaffe's Communist record was not mentioned by the Government in the court hearing that wound up the Amerasia case of the stolen State Department documents.

Not a single reference to it appeared in the 15-page transcript of the court record.

Nor was the judge told that Amerasia magazine, which used confidential data from rifled State Department files on the Far East, was dedicated to the promotion of the Communist Party line on China.

This would have been of the utmost importance to the court. For, the punishment to be meted out depended on Mr. Jaffe's motives and the use he made of the hundreds of secret State Department and Military and Naval intelligence records found in his office as editor of the magazine.

The Government recommended against a jail sentence. Consequently the key figure in the Amerasia case escaped with a \$2500 fine after pleading guilty. And the sensational evidence painstakingly dug up by the FBI was kept from the public.

INDEX Mr. Jaffe pleaded guilty here in Washington on Sept. 29, 1945, before Justice James M. Proctor, a respected member of the Federal bench who now sits on the U. S. Court of Appeals.

The charge was "violation of Section Title XV888, United States Code, which is conspiracy to embezzle, steal and purloin property, records and valuable things of record and property of the United States."

Conduct of Case Was
Unusual From Outset



JUDGE PROCTOR
Make it brief

guides the court in fixing the penalty.

When Albert Arent, defense attorney, asked permission to make a statement, Judge Proctor replied:

"Please make it brief because I do not expect to hold any extended session here this morning."

Later, when the judge suggested the Government explain where it stood and asked how long that would take, Mr. Hitchcock replied: "Less than five minutes."

Not 'Disloyal Purpose'

file 5

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Conduct of Case Was Unusual From Outset

The hearing took place on a Saturday morning, when the District Court rarely sits. It got little attention.

Robert M. Hitchcock, Special Assistant Attorney General, permitted Mr. Jaffe's lawyer to make the "statement of facts." Ordinarily, in a guilty plea, that's the job of the prosecutor since it



MR. HITCHCOCK
Got a new job.



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Make it brief

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Not 'Disloyal Purpose' but 'Journalistic Zeal'

Mr. Arent described his client as "for many years a student of Far Eastern affairs"; a graduate of Columbia with A. B. and M. A. degrees; a lecturer at Harvard, Vassar, Yale, Dartmouth and other schools.

Among co-founders of his magazine Amerasia, the defense counsel said, "were distinguished academic people, scholars, political scientists like Owen Lattimore, head of the Walter Hines Page School of Diplomacy and International Relations at Johns Hopkins . . ."

For eight years, he went on, Mr. Jaffe edited Amerasia "without compensation and at considerable sacrifice."

It circulated "amongst scholars and specialists in Far Eastern affairs and has found a place in the leading libraries and educational institutions of the country."

"The Government does not contend that any of this material was used for any disloyal purpose," said Mr. Arent.

"If Mr. Jaffe has transgressed the law, it seems he has done so from an excess of journalistic zeal . . ."

Judge Proctor, interposing, remarked: "There is no doubt but what he has."

The indictment, declared Mr. Jaffe's attorneys, "charges a rel

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Judge Wasn't AERN

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tively minor violation which arose out of his anxiety to be accurately informed in the field of his scholarly and journalistic interest."

He urged that Mr. Jaffe's case be disposed of that morning because of "the very grave illness of his wife."

Asked by the court if that was "a correct statement," the special assistant attorney general answered:

"In substance, yes, Your Honor."

No Probation Officer Saw Jaffee 'Jacket'

Then Judge Proctor proposed that the probation officer investigate and report so that the case "take the usual course of such cases with a view to possible probation . . ."

Had that been done, the probation officer would have access to the Jaffe "jacket" in the United States Attorney's office. This includes the FBI "prosecutive summary report" as well as Mr. Jaffe's vast Communist background and that of Amerasia.

Here Mr. Hitchcock told the court: "I assume that prior to the imposition of sentence, which I

think counsel hoped to be disposed of today inasmuch as we have the facts pertinent to the subject, it perhaps even a probation officer would get not only from this district but would have to go to New York for, Your Honor may wish hear what the Government has say."

Mr. Jaffe, he went on, was charged with conspiracy in taking and removing from Government files, primarily the State Department, Office of Naval Intelligence, Strategic Services and War Information, certain documents that belonged to these various agencies.

"The use to which they were put was, as I understand it, large background material that Mr. Jaffe in the conduct of his Amerasia magazine used to assist him in publishing articles and preparing arguments that would lend to its weight and, perhaps, its circulation. The magazine, we know as a matter of fact, was a losing proposition financially."

Asked if the documents were used in such a way as to embarrass the Army or Navy in the conduct of the war, Mr. Hitchcock said there was no such evidence.

"To us," he went on, "it was



Americans Shower McCarthy With Praise for Commie Fight

50,000 Messages of Encouragement Pour in From All Sections of Nation

(This is the first of a series of articles disclosing public reaction to the fight waged by Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin against Communists and Communist influence in the State department. The articles are based upon letters and telegrams deluging McCarthy since he began the one-man campaign.)

By JOHN FISHER

From all walks of life, from all sections of the nation, the people are standing solidly behind Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin in his demand for exposure of Communists in the State department.

A random examination of the estimated 50,000 letters, cards and telegrams received by McCarthy since he made his charges of Communists in the department reveals a spontaneous upsurge of public sentiment in his behalf.

Most of the writers had no other wish than to give McCarthy encouragement in facing tremendous odds. They told of praying for him. They inquired if there is anything "ordinary citizens" can do to help.

Many Contribute Money

Many, hearing that McCarthy was hard-pressed to finance his part of the investigation, and forced to cut his investigating staff, contributed money. The donations aren't large, usually a dollar or two, sometimes 10. They said they gave what they could afford to help him carry on the fight.

McCarthy has acknowledged spending about \$7,500 of his personal funds to date on expenses incurred in connection with his search for evidence to be furnished the Senate investigating committee, which has a staff and \$25,000 for probing McCarthy's charges.

Although McCarthy has made no appeal for help, he has accepted the donations in the spirit in which they were given.

Following are some of the explanations given by the people who contributed.

Disabled Vet Helps

A disabled veteran of World War I, described himself as pauper, sent a money order for \$1 from Liberty, Mo., saying "the Democrats are leading us to war," and he would have sent McCarthy more money if not so poor.

From Mount Vernon, N. Y.: "I'm a Democrat but I'm for you 100 per cent in this effort. The present Democratic leaders don't seem to realize that what's bad for the country is bad for the party. Enclosed please find check for \$10 to help in defraying the expense of this very urgent patriotic effort."

From a Chicago couple describing themselves as "Mr. and Mrs. Democrat" came \$10 with the wish "hope you have a million more converts to your cause."

Enclosed in a United Nations envelope, McCarthy received \$2 with the explanation "this is the best I can do at this time; will repeat again in two weeks."

"Yankee Green Buck"

"Here is a Yankee green buck to lick a Communist Red buck," declared a donor from Aberdeen, Md.

A government employe in Washington sent a dollar with an unsigned letter, saying "If my name were signed, and through any reason it would become known, my means of making a living would be abruptly terminated." But the letter said: "In my opinion, you and the few on your side of the aisle who have the guts to assist you are performing one of the greatest services to the country ever performed. Keep at it! It is way past time for America to wake up, so keep the alarm ringing."

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Twenty-three other persons signed a joint letter, enclosing 23 crumpled dollar bills, "which we hasten to send today, realizing that under Truman's profligacy they may be worth less tomorrow."

The letter continued:

"The undersigned, realizing the pressure under which you as a loyal, patriotic American, are laboring to bring to light the subversive activities of traitors and spies on our government pay rolls, consider it a privilege to be able to make this small contribution to help you carry on the fight."

"Token of Appreciation"

One of the most unusual letters came from Chicago, and read:

"I am sending you herewith five dollars for your personal use—some good cigars, a box of candy, or anything your pleasure desires. No acknowledgement is necessary."

"I am a poor man, 65 years old today, and since my social security benefits start today, I feel I can afford this little token of appreciation of your splendid service to our country. Your unseen friend."

"I heard last night on the radio program that you are having financial trouble after all the good you have done this country," said another letter from "working family of three." "I therefore pledge \$1 to help fight the elements that threaten this country and hope that more of my fellow-countrymen shall do the same."

Acheson Criticized

A Connecticut man sent a dollar in behalf of his grandson, saying: "Sent in the hope that what you are attempting to do will succeed, and that my grandson may grow up in the same sort of a country that I grew up in. A man that will stick by Alger Hiss and permit a convicted Russian spy to return to Russia should not be Secretary of State—we need someone about whom there is not the slightest doubt of his loyalty and love of this country."

A terse penciled note on white

wrapping paper said: "A humble contribution for expense connected with your excellent effort." It was unsigned and enclosed a dollar.

"Kindly accept this small contribution of \$3 that you can use to help pay the private investigators on your pay roll," said a man from Staten Island, N. Y. "I wish it could be more," he added. "God bless you and keep you in good health. Please keep on fighting for what you believe is worth while."

D] C. Woman Contributes

A Washington woman sent \$10 "as a slight token of appreciation of what you are undergoing in your patriotic, courageous effort in behalf of our beloved country. If the Reds win it will mean not only we of this generation, but our children's children's grandchildren will be under the Soviet yoke."

"Another group of five local citizens sent \$35, saying: We wish to express to you our congratulations and deep appreciation for your courageous efforts in behalf of all real American citizens." A Wisconsin couple said "hurrah for McCarthy—the people of Wisconsin sure must be proud of you. Keep up the good work. They enclosed a dollar."

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Truman Will Release 81 Loyalty Files

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Probe to Get Information Demanded By M'Carthy

Sees No Precedent
Set by Action;
Bielaski Testifies
On Amerasia Case

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

The State Department loyalty files on Senator McCarthy's "81 cases" will be made available to Senate investigators, it was announced yesterday.

Senator Tydings (D., Md.), chairman of the investigating subcommittee, said that President Truman finally had agreed to let the subcommittee examine the files.

Mr. Truman felt, Tydings explained, that because of the past history of the 81 cases—the data in those files were examined two years ago by four Congressional committees—no precedent will be violated by letting a fifth committee look at the information.

The agreement applies only to the State Department loyalty files, and not to the FBI files, which McCarthy has also demanded be disclosed to the investigating Senators.

But since a full FBI "field investigation" had been run on most, if not all of the 81 persons, and since the data from those investigations are included in the State Department files, presumably all the pertinent FBI information will thus be included. The main omission will be only the actual names of the informants, contained in the FBI "raw files."

Some Not Included

The files that will be opened to the subcommittee, being confined to the 81 cases McCarthy discussed on the Senate floor the night of February 20, will not include those relating to persons he later named publicly.

There were ten of these, including the "key case" of Owen Lattimore, and the important cases of John S. Service and Haldore Hanson.

McCarthy has repeatedly demanded that the files be made available, and insisted that if they were, his charges of Communist infiltration of the State Department would be proved.

He has further insisted, again and again, that one could be sure that if the files proved him wrong, Mr. Truman would have made them available long since.

Bielaski at Closed Session

Earlier in the day, before Tydings' unexpected announcement, his subcommittee heard in closed session its first witness on the 1945 Amerasia case, allegedly involving the "wholesale theft" of secret Government documents, and linking the theft to a man since described as a Communist.

The witness was Frank Bielaski, former Office of Strategic Services employee who led a raid on the Amerasia magazine offices.

McCarthy, barred from the sub-

committee session, released a statement giving what he asserted were to be the highspots of Bielaski's testimony. Of these, the most startling was that six months before the A-bomb drop on Hiroshima, "the people who operated Amerasia, with the assistance of State Department personnel, were collecting and transmitting to Soviet Russia the secrets of the atomic bomb."

Bielaski, caught by reporters between sessions of the hearing, and shown that statement, commented:

"I can't say that. That word, 'transmitted'—there are some words there I should have to qualify."

He said, however, "there was something to the atomic aspect."

Last night the Department of Justice said in a statement:

"When the FBI made their investigation and their search of the Amerasia headquarters there was no information contained in any documents or otherwise relating to the a-bomb."

And if the OSS had gotten any such information, it was "never made available to the FBI or the criminal division of the Department of Justice."

Hitherto, the President has refused to release the files on the persons McCarthy accused, on grounds that disclosure of FBI data would breach promises made by FBI agents to persons who informed them that their identities would be kept secret.

Might Hamper FBI

Further, the Chief Executive argued, release of the files might smear the reputations of innocent men, hamper the FBI in future work and open up the possibility of irresponsible interpretation of the contents of the files.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath was adamant on these points in testimony before the Tydings subcommittee.

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But earlier this week, Representative ~~Harsten~~ (D., Mo.) disclosed that all of McCarthy's 81 cases were taken from a list of 103 cases, compiled more than two years ago by an investigator from a House Subcommittee on Appropriations.

At that time, for reasons unexplained, the State Department permitted the investigator to examine its loyalty files, and to abstract them. The list he brought back to the Capitol caused a small furor.

The summary of the investigator, Robert Lee, ultimately was seen by the members of four Congressional Committees in 1948. State Department personnel officials were called on to explain and did presumably, to the satisfaction of the Congressman. No further action was demanded, and no adverse reports were given to Congress.

Subsequently, the President established the Loyalty Review procedure and ordered that never again should departmental loyalty files be opened to Congress.

From the Administration's point of view, an ample illustration of the damage that comes from letting a congressional agent see the files is the fact that McCarthy apparently got hold of the old Lee list, whittled it down, and made his charges from it.

In the cases he cited, he repeated the 108 list, allegation for allegation and often word for word.

Why Truman Agreed

Tydings said yesterday that when Mr. Truman learned the facts that four committees and their attaches had seen the files two years ago, he agreed to make them available to the present subcommittee, feeling that no precedent would be set thereby.

But for the time being, at least, he will not make available any

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other files for that, presumably, would set a precedent.

The subcommittee however, has already been given what was described as a complete and detailed summary of the FBI file on Lattimore, prepared by Hoover.

Tydings said he had had half a dozen White House conferences to work out a procedure by which the files could be made available. He added that the agreement was reached Thursday.

In his statement he said:

"I am happy, therefore, at the outcome which will permit the committee now to see the very files which Senator McCarthy asked the committee to examine when he made his charges on the radio, through the newspapers and on the Senate floor.

"It is to be hoped that during the coming week the committee may begin its examination of the files in connection with its other work and in due time make a full report to the Senate and the country about their contents."

McCarthy himself could not be reached for comment last evening.

The minority leader, Senator Wherry (R., Nebr.) jibed that President Truman was forced by public opinion to make the files available, and that he should have done it long before.

He did it, Wherry went on, doubtless because "he could not face the people with his argument for secrecy."

Now he must make the rest of the files available on the other persons named, and also all those of "moral perverts" in the State Department.

Members of the Tydings Subcommittee were close-mouthed yesterday on what they heard from Bielaski, the former OSS director of investigations.

Before the hearing began, McCarthy made public a copy of a letter he wrote to Tydings. He wrote that he felt compelled "to give the Senate and the American people a brief resume of the highlights of what yesterday's testimony" by Bielaski would be.

"The American people have waited too long to hear the evidence in the Amerasia case," McCarthy said in the letter.

He said Bielaski conducted the first night raid on Amerasia magazine headquarters in June, 1945—three months before the FBI stepped into the case—and found a vast number of "top secret" documents allegedly stolen from the State Department.

Six persons were arrested in the Amerasia case, but only three were indicted by a Federal grand jury. The charge was conspiracy to illegally remove Government documents. The Government later dropped the charge against one of the three indicted.

Philip Waffe, editor of Amerasia, pleaded guilty and was fined \$2500. Another defendant, Emmanuel Sigurd Larsen, a State Department employe, pleaded no defense and was fined \$500.

In his letter to Tydings, McCarthy declared that Bielaski would testify as follows:

"1. That reports were discovered in the Amerasia office which showed that six months before the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima the people who operated Amerasia, with the assistance of State Department personnel, were collecting and transmitting to Soviet Russia the secrets of the atomic bomb.

"2. That top secret State Department reports were found in the Amerasia office.

"3. That an extremely secret report marked 'for delivery by officer-messenger only to director of naval intelligence' was found in the Amerasia office."

"4. That reports were found in the Amerasia office showing that the interlocking directors of Amerasia and the Institute of Pacific Relations were undermining the Chinese Nationalist government and were collecting minute details of the anti-Communist armies.

"5. That reports were found in the Amerasia office which dealt with the intimate family relationships of the family of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

"6. That the immensity of this espionage operation was so great and the number of stolen secret documents so large that Mr. Bielaski took away 15 copies which were never even missed by Amerasia personnel before the FBI came back to conduct the raid three months later.

Mr. Bielaski had difficulty in giving testimony.

By Sam Zagoria
To Consider Proposals
Meeting of Producers
Commissioners Call
JULIAN CALIC

quity committee did reach any such testimony as McCarthy had predicted would be forthcoming.

However, Bielaski was recalled for another session in the afternoon.

Emerging later, Bielaski commented first that McCarthy's statement was an "enlargement."

Then, in carefully chosen words, he continued:

"Without regard to McCarthy or the evidence I've given the committee, of my own knowledge there's something to it."

The witness said, however, that the evidence in the case "closely shows a wholesale, well-established theft of Government secrets."

"The evidence is serious, very serious," he said.

Bielaski made it clear he had been warned by the Senate inquiry committee against disclosing any of the evidence he presented.

He said he didn't know McCarthy and had been called before the committee by subpoena. He is now

president of the Research and Security Corp., New York, a firm specializing in investigations and public relations.

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Truman to Release Files on McCarthy's 81 Cases to Inquiry

Sets No Precedent Set by Action; Bielaski Testifies On Amerasia Case

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

The State Department loyalty files on Senator McCarthy's "81 cases" will be made available to Senate investigators, it was announced yesterday.

Senator Tydings (D., Md.), chairman of the investigating subcommittee, said that President Truman finally had agreed to let the subcommittee examine the files.

Mr. Truman felt, Tydings explained, that because of the past history of the 81 cases—the data in those files were examined two years ago by four Congressional committees—no precedent will be violated by letting a fifth committee look at the information.

The agreement applies only to the State Department loyalty files, and not to the FBI files, which McCarthy has also demanded be disclosed to the investigating Senators.

But since a full FBI "field investigation" had been run on most, if not all of the 81 persons, and since the data from those investigations are included in the State Department files, presumably all the pertinent FBI information will thus be included. The main omission will be only the actual names of the informants contained in the FBI "TAV" files.

Some Not Included

The files that will be opened to the subcommittee, being confined to the 81 cases McCarthy discussed on the Senate floor the night of February 20, will not include those relating to persons he later named publicly.

There were ten of these, including the "key case" of Owen Lattimore, and the important cases of John S. Service and Haldore Hanson.

McCarthy has repeatedly demanded that the files be made available, and insisted that if they were, his charges of Communist infiltration of the State Department would be proved.

He has further insisted, again and again, that one could be sure that if the files proved him wrong Mr. Truman would have made them available long since.

Bielaski at Closed Session

Earlier in the day, before Tydings' unexpected announcement, his subcommittee heard in closed session its first witness on the 1945 Amerasia case, allegedly involving the "wholesale theft" of secret Government documents, and linking the theft to a man since described as a Communist.

The witness was Frank Bielaski, a former Office of Strategic Services employee who led a raid on the Amerasia magazine offices.

McCarthy, barred from the sub-

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committee session, released a statement saying what he asserted were to be the highspots of Bielaski's testimony. Of these, the most startling was that six months before the A-bomb drop on Hiroshima, "the people who operated Amerasia, with the assistance of State Department personnel, were collecting and transmitting to Soviet Russia the secrets of the atomic bomb."

Bielaski, caught by reporters between sessions of the hearing, and shown that statement, commented: "I can't say that. That word 'transmitted' — there are some words there I should have to qualify."

He said, however, "there was something to the atomic aspect."

Last night the Department of Justice said in a statement:

"When the FBI made their investigation and their search of the Amerasia headquarters there was no information contained in any documents or otherwise relating to the A-bomb."

And if the OSS had gotten any such information, it was "never made available to the FBI or the criminal division of the Department of Justice."

Hitherto, the President has refused to release the files on the persons McCarthy accused, on grounds that disclosure of FBI data would breach promises made by FBI agents to persons who informed them that their identities would be kept secret.

Might Hamper FBI

Further, the Chief Executive argued, release of the files might smear the reputations of innocent men, hamper the FBI in future work and open up the possibility of irresponsible interpretation of the contents of the files.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath was adamant on these points in testimony before the Tydings subcommittee.

But earlier this week Representative Karsten (D. Mo.) disclosed that all of McCarthy's 57 cases were taken from a list of 118 cases, compiled more than two years ago by an investigator from a House Subcommittee on Appropriations.

At that time, for reasons unexplained, the State Department permitted the investigator to examine its loyalty files, and to abstract them. The list he brought back to the Capitol caused a small furor.

The summary of the investigation, Robert Lee, ultimately was seen by the members of four Congressional Committees, in 1948. State Department personnel officials were called on to explain and did presumably, to the satisfaction of the Congressman. No further action was demanded, and no adverse reports were given to Congress.

Subsequently, the President established the Loyalty Review procedure and ordered that never again should departmental loyalty files be opened to Congress.

From the Administration's point of view, an ample illustration of the damage that comes from letting a congressional agent see the files is the fact that McCarthy apparently got hold of the old Lee list, whittled it down, and made his charges from it.

In the cases he cited, he repeated the 108 list, allegation for allegation and often word for word.

Why Truman Agreed

Tydings said yesterday that when Mr. Truman learned the facts that four committees and their attaches had seen the files two years ago, he agreed to make them available to the present subcommittee. Yes, but that no precedent would be set thereby.

But for the time being, at least, he will not make available any

other files for that, presumably, without setting a precedent.

The subcommittee, however, has already been given what was described as a complete and detailed summary of the FBI file on Lattimore, prepared by Hoover.

Tydings said he had had half a dozen White House conferences to work out a procedure by which the files could be made available. He added that the agreement was reached Thursday.

In his statement he said:

"I am happy, therefore, at the outcome which will permit the committee now to see the very files which Senator McCarthy asked the committee to examine when he made his charges on the radio through the newspapers and on the Senate floor.

"It is to be hoped that during the coming week the committee may begin its examination of the files in connection with its other work and in due time make a full report to the Senate and the country about their contents."

McCarthy himself could not be reached for comment last evening.

The minority leader, Senator Wherry (R. Nebr.) jibed that President Truman was forced by public opinion to make the files available, and that he should have done it long before.

He did it, Wherry went on, doubtless because "he could not face the people with his argument for secrecy."

Now he must make the rest of the files available on the other persons named, and also all those of "moral perverts" in the State Department.

Members of the Tydings Subcommittee were close-mouthed yesterday on what they heard from Bielaski, the former OSS director of investigations.

Before the hearing began, McCarthy made public a copy of a letter he wrote to Tydings. He wrote that he felt compelled to give the Senate and the American people a brief resume of the highlights of what yesterday's testimony by Bielaski would be.

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"The American people have waited too long to have the evidence in the Amerasia case," McCarthy said in the letter.

He said Bielaski conducted the first night raid on Amerasia magazine headquarters in June, 1945—three months before the FBI stepped into the case—and found a vast number of "top secret" documents allegedly stolen from the State Department.

Six persons were arrested in the Amerasia case, but only three were indicted by a Federal grand jury. The charge was conspiracy to illegally remove Government documents. The Government later dropped the charge against one of the three indicted.

Philip Jaffe, editor of Amerasia, pleaded guilty and was fined \$2500. Another defendant, Emmanuel Sigurd Larsen, a State Department employe, pleaded no defense and was fined \$500.

In his letter to Tydings, McCarthy declared that Bielaski would testify as follows:

"1. That reports were discovered in the Amerasia office which showed that six months before the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima the people who operated Amerasia, with the assistance of State Department personnel, were collecting and transmitting to Soviet Russia the secrets of the atomic bomb."

"2. That top secret State Department reports were found in the Amerasia office."

"3. That an extremely secret report marked 'for delivery by office messenger only to director of naval intelligence' was found in the Amerasia office."

"4. That reports were found in the Amerasia office showing that the interlocking directors of Amerasia and the Institute of Pacific Relations were undermining the Chinese Nationalist government and were collecting minute details of the anti-Communist movement."

"5. That reports were found in the Amerasia office which dealt with the intimate family relationships of the family of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek."

"6. That the immensity of this espionage operation was so great and the number of secret documents so large that Mr. Bielaski took away 15 copies which were never even missed by Amerasia personnel before the FBI came back to conduct the raid three months later."

"7. That Mr. Bielaski had difficulty gaining entrance to the Amerasia office because crews were working all night in its huge photo lab photographing secret Government documents."

"8. That the scope of this operation was such that when the FBI agents raided the office three months later, the documents seen there by Mr. Bielaski were no longer there, they having been copied, removed, and replaced by others."

A Senator in a position to know what happened told newsmen that during its forenoon session, the inquiry committee did not reach any such testimony as McCarthy had predicted would be forthcoming.

However, Bielaski was recalled for another session in the afternoon.

Emerging later, Bielaski commented first that McCarthy's statement was an "enlargement."

Then, in carefully chosen words, he continued:

"Without regard to McCarthy or the evidence I've given the committee, of my own knowledge there's something to it."

The witness said, however, that the evidence in the case "closely shows a wholesale, well-established theft of Government secrets."

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Bielaski made it clear he had been warned by the Senate inquiry committee against disclosing any of the evidence he presented.

He said he didn't know McCarthy and had been called before the committee by subpoena. He is now president of the Research and Security Corp., New York, a firm specializing in investigations and public relations.

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McCarthy Drafts Blast at Partial Release of Files

Truman Action Fails To Satisfy Senator, Wants FBI Records

By the Associated Press

President Truman's decision to hand over some Government loyalty files to Senate Communist investigators but Senator McCarthy to work today on a "not enough" protest.

In another development, the Justice Department said it never received any evidence from the Office of Strategic Services to support charges that Amerasia magazine officials and State Department employees were shipping atomic secrets to Russia in 1945.

Senator McCarthy, Wisconsin Republican, has said a former OSS agent would testify that A-bomb data did find its way to the Soviet Union in the Amerasia case. The agent, Frank Bielecki, said yesterday there is some substance to what Senator McCarthy asserted but he did not entirely back up the Senator.

Mr. Bielecki made it clear he had been warned by the Senate inquiry committee against disclosing any of the evidence he presented.

He said he didn't know Senator McCarthy and had been called before the committee by subpoena. He is now president of the Research and Security Corp., New York, a firm specializing in investigations and public relations.

Lodge Calls Picture "Serious." Senator Lodge, Republican, of Massachusetts, who heard Mr. Bielecki testify at a secret session, said the picture Mr. Bielecki portrayed "is very serious." But Senator Lodge refused to comment on the A-bomb angle.

Reversing his earlier refusal to release Government loyalty files, Mr. Truman agreed late yesterday to let a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee examine secret State Department files on 81 persons cited by Senator McCarthy in his charges on communism in the Government.

Chairman Tydings of the investigating committee said in announcing the President's decision that the approval does not apply to the FBI's so-called "raw" files. Senator Tydings added, however, that "there will be FBI material" in some of the State Department files the committee gets.

Senator McCarthy has charged that the department is infected with Communists and Red sympathizers. He has contended all along that to obtain proof of his accusations, the committee must have access to the FBI files as well as State Department records.

McCarthy to Speak Tomorrow. Senator McCarthy told a reporter "I'm going to hold my fire" until tomorrow night when he is scheduled to address a convention of young Republicans in Chicago. He said the speech will be aired on a Nation-wide radio network.

It was learned that he intends to blast the administration for not making the FBI files available, too, and for confining access to State Department records to the 81 cases he outlined in a Senate speech February 20.

Mr. Truman refused in March to turn over any loyalty files on the ground it would cripple the FBI, smear innocent people and wreck the Federal loyalty program. He took that position of advice of FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General McGrath.

Senator Tydings said the President changed his mind about the 81 State Department files after learning that those records were examined 2½ years ago by four other congressional committees.

No Adverse Report Made. On the basis of the earlier investigation, Senator Tydings declared: "No adverse report concerning these employees came to the floor of the House or the floor of the Senate and no was sent to the State Department."

While Senator McCarthy put

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himself temporarily under wraps on the Alex issue, Senator Wherry of Nebraska, the Republican floor leader, spoke out promptly in sharp criticism of the President.

Senator Wherry demanded that the committee be given access to the FBI files. He said Mr. Truman was afraid to face the people on his forthcoming Western tour without permitting the committee to get at the State Department documents.

"Public opinion is beginning to blow the lid off the scandals of the Truman administration," Senator Wherry declared.

The Nebraska Senator complained that a Senate Appropriations subcommittee, of which he is a member had been denied the files of State Department and other employees "alleged in police records to be moral perverts."

Lattimore Case Not Included.

The 81 cases Senator McCarthy outlined to the Senate do not include the major one he later presented to the inquiry committee—that of Owen Lattimore.

Senator McCarthy has accused Mr. Lattimore, Far Eastern affairs specialist and Johns Hopkins University professor, of being Russia's No. 1 spy in the United States. Mr. Lattimore has denied that under oath. He also swore he never was a Communist—as charged by ex-Communist Louis Budenz.

Senator McCarthy has said he is willing to let all of his charges against the State Department stand or fall on the Lattimore case. He has demanded repeatedly that the committee be given a look at the FBI's raw file on Mr. Lattimore. So far the committee has seen only an FBI summary.

Also not included in the 81 cases are Senator McCarthy's accusations against John S. Service, career diplomat. Senator McCarthy said he does not believe Haldore Hanson, State Department official, was among the 81 either.

Both Accused by McCarthy.

Both Mr. Service and Mr. Hanson have been accused by Senator McCarthy of having Communist sympathies. Both men have denied the charges.

Two days ago a group of Senate Democrats headed by Majority Leader Lucas launched an attack on Senator McCarthy.

Senate officials in a position to know said round two of the Democratic counter-attack probably will get underway Monday with another flurry of Senate speeches.

Meanwhile the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board revealed that a total of 202 persons have been released from Government service on loyalty grounds during the last three years.

Approximately 2 million persons are employed by the Government.

A total of 7,708 cases have been finally passed upon by loyalty boards. Of those, 7,258 resulted in clearances.

Some 451 persons were ruled ineligible for Government service. Of those the 300 were dismissed. 113 were restored to service after appeals, and the balance of the cases are still pending.

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Flood of Telegrams McCarthy in Anti-Red Battle

Public Response Includes Contributions To Meet Expense of Senate Crusade

This is the second of two articles on public reaction to Sen. McCarthy's fight against Communist influence in the State department.

Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin has been bolstered in his fight against Communist influences in the State department by wholehearted support of people "back home."

The senator is urged "to keep up the fight no matter how strong the opposition."

Many persons sent contributions of a dollar or two to help defray his personal investigation expenses after they heard he was hard-pressed financially.

Apart from the contributions, the moral support expressed by these people has been tremendous and widespread.

Telegrams Are Pointed

Some of the letters are long. The telegrams carry a pointed message. Here are a few samples of the wires:

"Congratulations on being an American and not a politician," wired a Pittsburgh couple.

"Real Americans are all for you," said a wire from Sacramento, Calif.

"God love you," wired a Baltimore doctor.

"Your fearless courage renews our confidence in the government," said a group of Alabamians.

Please Carry On

"Keep belting them," said a Los Angeles wire. "Please carry on," said another from Abbeville, La. "The people are behind you," assured a wire from St. Paul. "The public is going strongly for you," wired former Sen. Revercomb (R) of West Virginia.

"Give them heck; millions are with you," said a telegram from Madison, Wis. "Don't get discouraged," read one from Boston. "The Halls of Montezuma ring with your praise," a resident of Bellevue, Wash., told the former Marine officer.

A Texas preacher asked McCarthy to demand the resignations of President Truman and State Secretary Acheson, declaring "I charge them with incompetence and with giving inspiration and consolation to sworn enemies of this government."

Americanism vs. Truman

"Give them both barrels," said a Milwaukee wire. One from Joplin, Mo., read: "American people extend gratitude for your courageous defense of Americanism versus Truman arrogance."

McCarthy also received encouragement from such groups as Presbyterian women in California, the Elks, citizens committees, American Legion posts and Veterans of Foreign Wars.

A former FBI agent wrote that his experience as a G-man convinced him "the Democratic party has become infiltrated by radicals, Socialists, Communists, crackpots and warped-minded intellectuals." He urged McCarthy to "carry on the fight until you clean out the whole Administration."

A Baltimore couple wrote: "As registered Democrats in Maryland, we want to commend you for your courageous fight against communism in the State department. Although we have the utmost respect for our Sen. Tydings, we do not agree with the way he has whitewashed your charges."

Even the Democrats

"Even a large majority of the Democratic voters are on your side," wrote a Wisconsin man.

"We need a man like you for President," said a Democrat from Memphis, Tenn. Similar sentiments came from other writers.

Former Gov. John C. Vivian of Colorado wrote that: "On every hand, I hear favorable comments on your campaign... More power to you. The people, I'm sure are with you."

A Los Angeles lawyer offered his service as defense counsel in case McCarthy were sued for libel. A Texan offered financial help in case of a libel suit.

From Port Carbon, Pa., a 16-year-old girl wrote that: "I say a prayer for you every day so you win." From Urbana, Ill., came this one: "I am just an old lady but you are a young man and so I hope I can encourage you in your present efforts to prove a few 'salts of the earth' still remain, to try to regain some of our

lost dignity and honor in the eyes of the world. God and his people are with you."

"The writer is ill and barely able to write but wanted you to know she is 100 per cent for you and it is a scandal the way our so-called representatives soft-pedal the investigation," wrote a Phoenix, (Ariz.) woman in shaky scrawl.

A Brooklyn woman wrote: "It just burns the women up to think with all the 'big men' there are in the United States, the President has to pick so many for high office who are so red."

"It seems mighty good to think someone has gumption enough to keep this United States of ours a decent place to live and not give it over to dictatorship," wrote a Minnesota farmer.

Keep Pounding Away

A naturalized citizen here told McCarthy: "Keep up the good fight and with God's help true Americanism will win out." An Oklahoma minister cautioned McCarthy against possible Communist attempts on his life, but said: "Keep pounding away along the same lines and even harder because it is not possible to accuse those Pendergast plunderers down in Washington of anything too dirty and too dishonest for anybody to commit."

"We ordinary people are not so easily fooled as the 'higher-ups' claim they were," said a Brooklyn woman. "We believe you are honestly working for our best interest," wrote a Milwaukee secretary, as "one of the working girls."

"We need more men like you," wrote 29 Philadelphia citizens. A man in Exeter, N. H., said: "I assure you that the man on the street feels as I do that you are doing a big job. The lack of support the Republican senators have given you is appalling."

"It's a shame that more Republicans and southern Democrats in the Senate aren't backing you," wrote a Los Angeles man. "You are so right, go after them," urged a woman in New Orleans.

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Kennan Worried State Dept. Morale Hurt By McCarthy

Milwaukee, May 5 (NYHT).—George E. Kennan, counselor of the State Department, warned tonight that the department might lose most of its "quiet, sensitive and gifted" top officials if the present atmosphere of "abuse and derision" continues.

Speaking in the home State of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican, who has charged that there are Communist, sex perverts and poor security risks in the State Department, Kennan told a meeting of the Institute on United Nations Foreign Policy that the mental strain of fighting the cold war left top officials with very slender margin of physical and spiritual energy to absorb ridicule.

"I must tell you," he said, "that the atmosphere of public life in Washington does not have to deteriorate much further to produce a situation in which very few of our more quiet and sensitive and gifted people will be able to continue in Government."

He warned that unless the United States could mobilize its best brains for prosecution of the cold war there could be no promising assurances of the outcome.

It was "not fair" to these men, he said, to make them scapegoats of whatever dissatisfaction and bewilderment the country might feel concerning its international position. Neither was it fair to the great body of citizens, he added.

Perhaps only those who have lived many years in totalitarian countries can feel how vitally important it was to preserve "the spirit of tolerance and liberality in our relations with each other and the readiness to give the other fellow the benefit of the doubt, where doubt exists," Kennan said.

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The Washington Merrind

Small Business Aid Causes Rift

By Drew Pearson

White House advisers sat up late trying to get a final decision on the President's small-business message before he left on his western trip. A highly important issue was involved with advisers split wide open over it.



Pearson

The issue was whether to promote Government loans to small business through the RFC, or to set up new private banks for loans to small business.

Lined up against RFC loans were Secretary of Commerce Sawyer, Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming and Federal Reserve Chairman Tom McCabe.

Lined up for RFC loans were Stephen Springarn, White House assistant, and Senator Taft, who, as ranking GOP member of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, was consulted.

Both sides, however, agreed on what's happening to small business. It's can't borrow long-term risk capital.

Small business can get plenty of short-term money from commercial banks, but not 10-and 12-year money. Furthermore it can't borrow from most insurance companies, which frown on speculative ventures and also want to deal in large amounts. In addition, the private capitalists of the old days are gone, and the investment bankers won't undertake to float stocks or bonds unless the issue runs into several millions.

To remedy this, it was proposed to put the RFC in the Commerce Department and let it specialize on loans to small business. However, Secretary of Commerce Sawyer, Senator O'Mahoney and others felt that Government should not subsidize business; also should not be in the position of having life and death loan powers over business.

Therefore a plan was worked out with able Chairman Tom McCabe at the Federal Reserve Board whereby private banks could be set up, with the backing of Federal Reserve Government money, for the express purpose of lending money to small business.

It was admitted that this plan would be more complicated, but in the long run would be better than outright Government loans to small business.

looking lady and a dog moseying down the street. A curious passer-by noted this attention and asked, 'Jake, which would you rather go out with—the lady or the dog?'

"Well, do you know," continued the Vice President, "O' Jake, he said, 'the dog, of course. I can always get away from him.'"

"And that," concluded the Vice President to the Senate aide, "is the reason why I'll go out in the lobby to see my friend."

Europe vs. McCarthy

Few people realize how badly American foreign policy has been undermined by the McCarthy-Communist campaign. Here are a few samples of what's happening abroad:

In China: The name "McCarthy" is pronounced exactly as if it were "MacArthur," and the impression has spread that General MacArthur was waging a near-revolt against the State Department. In fact, the impression has been created in some parts of the Far East, where the public is not well informed, that the United States is near revolt.

In Albania: The Communist government, after long pressure from the West, was expected to do a Tito. But it hasn't. And a partial reason has been Soviet propaganda that the State Department was full of Communists—"an American Senator says so"—and that the United States would

soon come over to the Communist Albanian side.

In France, Italy, Belgium and other Atlantic Pact countries, the reaction has been most harmful of all. For some time these countries had experienced a wave of "neutrality," which has now grown to new heights. People in these once Nazi-occupied countries have argued that they did not want to get in the middle of another war, would much rather be neutral. That has been one reason for opposition to the North Atlantic Pact.

Now, on top of this neutrality wave has come the McCarthy charges of Communists in the State Department, which to poorly informed Europeans means that the United States is likely to go over to Russia leaving western Europe out on a limb.

Therefore, it's not difficult to understand why neutrality sentiment and opposition to the North Atlantic pact has grown more than ever.

Report to Senate

Prior to his departure for Europe, Secretary of State Acheson told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee behind closed doors that the United States is prepared to fight rather than retreat from Berlin.

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The 81 Files

The President's decision to let the Tydings Subcommittee see State Department loyalty files reflects, no doubt, a conviction that these files will show no carelessness in respect of security and a hope that they will at last silence Senator McCarthy's howling. Even assuming, as we do, that the President is right in his conviction, the hope is unlikely to be realized. If Senator McCarthy and the little clique of colleagues that has rallied to his dubious standard were open to reason, he would have been silenced long ago. Whatever the files contain, they will not satisfy Senator McCarthy. He will invent new charges and new excuses for being unable to substantiate them.

The files to be made available to the subcommittee are not the so-called "raw files" of the FBI; they do, however, include FBI reports. Disclosure of them is therefore open to many of the same objections that the President expressed so vigorously less than a fortnight ago in his address to the Federal Bar Association. "The preservation of the strictest confidence with respect to loyalty files is the single most important element in operating a loyalty program which provides effective security for the Government and justice for the individual employee," he said . . . "Opening these files would reveal FBI procedures and methods. It might reveal highly secret information vital to our national security and of great value to foreign nations. Disclosures of these files would result in serious injustice to the reputation of many innocent persons."

All this might be said in a slightly smaller degree of the FBI reports contained in the State Department files. Information conveyed in them could well be of such a nature as to make the source apparent or to reveal the techniques by which it was procured. It does not seem to us that this danger is appreciably altered by the President's belated discovery that the files in question were shown to four congressional committees two years ago. The more they are shown, the greater is the risk of leakage.

The strictest confidence will be incumbent on the members of the subcommittee. If this is observed, Senator McCarthy will not be privy to the contents of the files. Before this appears in print he will doubtless have complained that the President's action deprives him of the means to prove his points. He has already raised a clamor that he be given access to FBI files. And this in spite of the fact that he himself declared in his Senate speech of February 20: "When I call for a disloyalty file I do not mean that I am calling for the source of information. I do not think any intelligence agency can work and do a good job if the Senate or the House or any other body is entitled to make public the source of the information." The only hope that the President's surrender of the vital State Department documents can prove genuinely effective lies in the possibility that the Senate of the United States, including members of Senator McCarthy's own party, will decide to put an end at last to his exceedingly dangerous buffoonery.

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McCarthy's Victims

By Joseph Alsop

An Open Letter To Senator Tydings

AFTER long hesitation, I am impelled by the appalling effects in Europe of the McCarthy witch hunt to offer my testimony to your committee, for what it may be worth.

I do so for two reasons. First, I have already sharply criticized the conduct of our affairs in China on several occasions. Second, I was intimately involved in the events which led to the loss of China, whereas Senators McCarthy, Wherry and Taft and their informants are offering second-hand evidence. This evidence is so obviously corrupted by political and other pressures that it is a duty to correct the impression conveyed.

Stating the case as briefly as possible, I think it fair to say that the really crucial years in China were those when Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell commanded the China-Burma-India theater, from 1942 to 1944. In this period, Professor Lattimore, who was always at best a fringe figure, played his most important role in our China policy, as a personal adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. In this rather brief assignment, he accomplished nothing, but he was quite obviously loyal both to the American Government and to Generalissimo Chiang.

Professor Lattimore had no part whatever in the real debate about China policy, in which the different points of view have been fantastically misrepresented by Senator McCarthy and his friends. No informed person ever supposed that offering blank checks to the National government of China would accomplish anything. Those who advocated a strong policy of aiding the National government only did so with the proviso that the aid given would be closely controlled by American representatives on the spot, as it was during the short and successful period of General

Wedemeyer's command. It should be noted that the congressional advocates of postwar aid to China specifically rejected the responsibility involved in this sort of local, on the spot control, in the first major bill appropriating funds for the purpose during General Marshall's Secretaryship of State.

RETURNING to the vastly more important war period, the other school of thought was composed primarily of General Stilwell and his political advisers. General Stilwell, so far as one could judge, was chiefly animated by his personal detestation of Generalissimo Chiang, arising from their disagreements. His political advisers, among whom was Mr. John Stewart Service, were operating on a more reasoned theory, however.

They asserted: first, that the National government was too feeble and corrupt ever to be reformed, even with direct American help and under direct American pressure. They said, second, that the Chinese Communists were therefore bound to win in the end, no matter what measures might be taken by the United States. In the third place, they argued that the Soviet Union, insofar as it had intervened in China at all, had given all its assistance to the regime of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek rather than to the Communists, who received no tangible Russian aid whatever until the war was over. Fourthly, they suggested that the Chinese Communists might be induced to declare their independence of the Kremlin if they were treated as friends and allies by the United States.

Opening friendly relations and offering aid to the Chinese Communists was frankly admitted, at the time, to be a bold gamble. The gamble now looks better than it did then. On the one hand, the Yugoslav Communists, whose experience was precisely what the experience of the Chinese Communists would have

been if they had received American aid, have rebelled against the Kremlin. On the other hand, the recent behavior of the Japanese Communist leader, Nosaka, a wartime refugee at Yen'an and intimate friend of Mao Tse-tung, clearly suggests that the idea of independence of the Kremlin must have been in the air in Communist China in wartime.

MY RIGHT to speak, if I may be said to have a right to speak, derives from the fact that in wartime I was one of the chief American opponents of the school of thought I have summarized above. As a member of the staff of the American Volunteer Group, as chief of the Lend-Lease Mission to China, and finally as an assistant to Dr. T. V. Soong, I did everything in my power to present the pro-Nationalist point of view in influential quarters in Washington.

Those who wished to develop an American policy of friendship toward, and aid to, the Chinese Communists were finally and decisively defeated with the dismissal of General Stilwell, in October, 1944. This occurred

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many months after I had finally succeeded in getting into uniform, as a member of Gen. C. L. Chennault's staff in the Fourteenth Air Force. But although I had long before become a mere junior officer in the Air Force, the effect of my letters to Harry L. Hopkins and the other representations I had made was acknowledged by implication in General Marshall's first instructions to General Wedemeyer.

These are, so to speak, my credentials. Having known the situation in wartime China far more intimately than any of the pro-McCarthy witnesses you have yet heard, I think it my duty to say that while I disputed the judgment, I never had the faintest doubt of the loyalty of any of the American officials or others whom McCarthy has attacked. They were serving the United States to the best of their ability, with courage and fidelity. This should be sufficient to protect them from the kind of vulgar attack McCarthy has made, even if their judgment was incorrect.

ALTHOUGH our views clashed sharply, I was particularly well acquainted with Mr. Service. To the best of my knowledge, although I thought then, and think now, that he was gravely in error, he was a most conscientious and decent American public servant. It is difficult, of course, to offer hard evidence to support such contemporary impressions. But I may cite one fact, at least, to show how erroneous it can be to judge situations from the viewpoint of a later time.

Former Vice President Henry A. Wallace has been, in effect, a pliable stooge for the American Communist Party for more than two years. From this, many people have inferred that Wallace was a Communist stooge in wartime. In fact, however, nothing could have been more contrary to the party line in wartime than to urge the dismissal of General Stilwell; yet Wallace recommended the dismissal of Stilwell and his replacement by Wedemeyer in a telegram from China to President Roosevelt in the late spring of 1944. Incidentally, the telegram was sent with the full knowledge of Mr. John Carter Vincent, who entered no protest whatever, although he too has been under attack as a Communist stooge.

In conclusion, there are two points which I feel I must make. First, I do not think I was wrong in opposing the policy of gambling on winning the friendship of the Chinese Communists and inducing them to declare their independence of the Kremlin. I do not think I was wrong, simply because I, and the others who took the same view, could not possibly foresee that when this policy of winning the friendship of the Chinese Communists had been defeated with the dismissal of General Stilwell, there would be a long period after the war during which we had no China policy at all.

None of the men now under attack by Senator McCarthy had any important responsibility, to my knowledge, for this singular hiatus. Speaking for myself, if I could have foreseen that the only alternative to a policy of gambling on the friendship of the Chinese Communists was a kind of vacuum of policy, I should have been on the other side in the struggle in China. The gamble on the Chinese Communists, although unnecessary, in my opinion, was at least a

reasonable gamble, such as could be reasonably advocated by entirely loyal Americans.

SECOND, I should like to suggest to your committee that, if the test of loyalty is following the line of the Communist Party, you had much better launch an investigation of Senators McCarthy, Wherry and Taft, than an investigation of Messrs. Lattimore, Service and Vincent. Let the test be a tabulation of the key votes of the three Senators above mentioned on the great postwar measures of foreign policy, and especially of their votes on key amendments by which bills can be nullified.

Unless I am gravely mistaken, such a tabulation will show that these three Senators, and most of the others who have joined them in the present clamor, have voted the straight Communist Party line on every major issue of foreign policy, as laid down in the *Daily Worker*, ever since the end of the war. If temporary agreement with the party line is to be made the test of loyalty, let these men be called to the bar to explain their records.

In summary, I do not attempt to excuse or palliate the grave American mistakes in China, which I have often before denounced. But I submit that we may as well abandon all hope of having honest and courageous public servants, if mere mistakes of judgment are later to be transformed into evidences of disloyalty to the state. And I submit further that the members of the Senate who are now persecuting these men who made, as I think, mistakes in China, have far more to explain, excuse, and rationalize in their own records. I still believe that the loss of China was unnecessary. But I think it far more important that we should not destroy the decent traditions of American political life. These now seem to be endangered.

MAY 8 1950

Government Employee Under Suspicion Hard Person To Separate From Job

The extent of the victory for Sen. Joseph McCarthy and others fighting Communism in the government, by reason of the agreement last week by the President to turn over to the Tydings Committee loyalty files on 81 employees, can be easily over estimated.

These are loose-leaf files, it has been pointed out, from which the removal of damaging data would present no problem. It is entirely likely that nothing of any great importance will be found in them. Truman was probably assured of that before he agreed to make them available to the committee.

What is really needed is to have information in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation made available to the Tydings committee or any other which may later become engaged upon an investigation like the one in hand.

The country is mindful of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's position that turning over the files of his bureau to any committee would shortly destroy the usefulness and effectiveness of his agency. Respecting Mr. Hoover as most of us do, we are willing to take his word that his position is justifiable.

However, it does appear to be a tragic situation if one agency of the government is at any time in possession of information sorely needed by another, with national security as the stake, and yet the one fears it would destroy its own usefulness by turning over that information to the other.

Surely, there must be some way

the FBI and to omit any information not completely verified. As a man of probity and judgment, we think most committees would be willing to accept such a summary from Mr. Hoover without question.

It has already been established to the satisfaction of most Americans that through procedures established by Congress and methods followed throughout the government service, the scales are loaded altogether in favor of any employee suspected of disloyalty.

Where any question of doubt exists as to the loyalty of an employee, he, rather than the nation, gets the benefit of it. So deeply ingrained is the conviction of all of us that a citizen is to be presumed innocent until he is proven guilty that unquestionably in many instances in the past, where matters of loyalty were concerned, the nation has been imposed upon unconscionably.

In a private business, if the question is raised as to an employee's honesty and there is substantial, even though not positive, evidence to support the suspicion, the employer usually finds a way to rid his organization of the individual. Nobody blames him for so doing, because honesty is one of the fundamental requirements of most employment.

Where the question of loyalty to one's country is in question, however, the government employee under suspicion, even though well justified, is surrounded by such safeguards that the precautions one would take in an

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Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Jones
Mr. Mumford
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

SECURITY MATTER

Federal Bureau of Investigation
S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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NOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

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Public Means Public

By Ted O. Thackrey

President Truman's belated agreement to make "public" the loyalty board files on 81 persons under fire by Senator McCarthy does not mean quite what it seems to mean.

The files are not to be made "public," but are to be made available to the Senate Judiciary subcommittee so that the committee may make public what portions of the files it chooses to make public.

This is a whale of a difference.

It will serve only to deepen the mystery and the hocus-pocus atmosphere in which McCarthy is given a chance to make suspicion and slander substitute for fact and evidence; where a half truth, or no truth at all, is clothed in the garments of truth.

The only completely healthy means of cleaning out the filthy files is to make them really available to the public; to open these and FBI "loyalty" files completely to the public gaze, so that the public record can be made in individual cases.

In many cases—and at present no one knows how many except that the list is large—the only thing significant in these files is that there has been a file made and tabbed with the name of some citizen.

The McCarthy lovers thus can join him in alleging that the FBI or the loyalty board has a "file" on So and So; and since the "file" is secret—so secret that the last person able to look into it and thus discover the charges against him if any is the victim of the attack—the innuendo stands.

If it were possible to drag out the mess of gossip, rumor and plain unsubstantiated guess which fills a large number of these files, it would be easier to make hash of the implication and easier, also, to come to the sensible conclusion that we are paying out far too much tax money for hog wash in bribes to our citizens to spy on their fellow citizens and come up with the wildest and most profitable bunk.

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Clifford J. Thackrey
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It is important to remember what no one seems to be able to remember in these lurid witch-hunt days: Senator McCarthy has thus far not been able to produce one single piece of reliable evidence to back up a single defamatory statement he has made since his witch-hunt began to hit the front pages. Lattimore is not his only smeared victim: the Lattimore case served only to prove that McCarthy is a welcher as well as a liar—if that's news. McCarthy promised to "stand or fall" on the Lattimore case—to get out of public life if his charges should prove in error. They stand exposed as wholly false. But McCarthy blithely continues to pursue his scandalous, slanderous way.

McCarthy is a liar, tax-dodger, welcher and a cheat. These words are written by me without benefit of the immunity under which McCarthy hides to smear his fellow man. Moreover, they are provable fact. If McCarthy will accommodate me with a suit for libel, I shall be pleased to prove these assertions in court. It would be a pleasure.

Senators Hope to Start Study of Files Today; McCarthy Hits Delay

Field Denies Contempt In Spurning Questions, Asks Reconsideration

By Cecil Holland

Senate investigators today hoped to begin a study of State Department loyalty files on 81 persons accused of being Communists, fellow travelers or security risks.

The files are those of persons accused by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin in a February 20 Senate speech.

Chairman Tydings of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee making the investigation said he hoped the files would be available during the day.

The committee had expected to start the study yesterday after President Truman had directed that these, and only these files, be made available to the investigators. But the State Department said it had not yet assembled the records for examination.

McCarthy "Not Surprised."

"I'm not surprised," Senator McCarthy said through an aide. "I knew they had not yet finished their spring housecleaning of the files."

Meanwhile, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, wealthy New Yorker, denied that he was in contempt of Congress in refusing to answer some of the questions asked him by the Senate investigators of the McCarthy charges.

The denial was made through his attorney, Harold I. Cammer of New York, in a letter made public by the committee.

Mr. Cammer, asking that Mr. Field be given a chance to reconsider the questions, said a contempt citation would be incon-

sistent with observance of the privilege against self-incrimination guaranteed by the fifth amendment to the Constitution. Contempt Action Considered.

The investigating committee is considering a recommendation by its chief counsel, Edward P. Morgan, that Mr. Field and also Earl Browder, former Communist leader, be cited for contempt in refusing to answer committee questions.

Both men were called as witnesses as the committee looked into the Owen Lattimore case as part of its investigation.

They denied testimony of Louis F. Budenz, a former Communist, that they told him Mr. Lattimore was to be considered a Communist. However, they refused to answer many other questions about their associations and activities, and Mr. Field refused to say whether he is or was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Lattimore, widely known far Eastern affairs specialist, has been accused by Senator McCarthy of being a Communist and Russia's top spy in this country. He has denounced those charges

as "lies" as well as the testimony of Mr. Budenz.

Tydings Uncertain of Action.

Senator Tydings said he did not know when the committee would act on Mr. Morgan's recommendation.

As the committee prepared to look into the loyalty records, two committee members — Senators Green, Democrat, of Rhode Island, and Lodge, Republican, of Massachusetts, began a study of the State Department's loyalty and security procedures. They interviewed five department security officials and said they would pursue their inquiry, a part of the overall investigation, to Europe, where, Senator Green explained, security operations are somewhat different from those in this country.

As the investigation went on, the Senate had a request from Senator Flanders, Republican, of New Hampshire, that the committee be instructed to hold no more public hearings. He said they were doing "much harm" at home and abroad.

Senator Tydings said no further public hearings are planned and doubted if there would be any. But he pointed out there was "no hard and fast rule" against them.

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Today and Tomorrow

By Walter Lippmann

McCarthy And The Constitution

THE MCCARTHY affair has posed the question whether Senators and Representatives are above all the laws which regulate the



freedom of speech of other American citizens. The question has been posed before, never, however, in so extreme a form.

MR. MCCARTHY, being a Senator, enjoys the privilege which are described in Article I, Section 6, Clause 1 of the Constitution. During his attendance at a session of the Senate, and while he is going to or returning from the Capitol, he cannot be arrested except for treason, felony, and breach of the peace. Furthermore, as a member of Congress he enjoys the privilege that "for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place."

I have put the word "other" in italics, because it is the key word both to our understanding of this great and historic privilege and to the abuse of that privilege by Senator McCarthy and his senatorial assistants.

THE LANGUAGE of this sentence was at least a hundred years old when the Founding Fathers used it in the American Constitution. It is taken from the English Bill of Rights which was enacted by Parliament after the revolution of 1689. Section 9 of this famous English statute declared that freedom of speech and debate or proceedings in Parliament "ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament."

Neither the American Constitution of 1789 nor the English Bill of Rights of 1689 says that a legislator shall not be questioned—that is to say held accountable—for what he says in the Congress or in the Parliament. The American document says he cannot be questioned "in any other place" and the English document says he cannot be questioned "out of Parliament."

THE MEANING of these words becomes quite clear when we look into the events which preceded them. During the struggle between the Stuart kings and their Parliaments, the King often attempted to intimidate members of the House of Commons. The great test case came in 1629 when three leaders of the opposition—Sir John Eliot, Denzil Hollis, and Benjamin Valentine—were arrested, brought before the King's Bench, and given severe penalties for their speeches in the House of Commons. For the next 60 years Parliaments fought the precedent established in this case. Nearly 40 years later, in 1667, the House of Commons passed a resolution, and then had a conference with the House of Lords which resulted in reversing formally, on a writ of error, the judgment of 1629. Twenty-two years after this reversal another Parliament in the Bill of Rights reaffirmed the principle of parliamentary immunity from prosecution in the courts or in any other place outside of Parliament.

THE PRINCIPLE of congressional immunity then is not that a Senator may not be "questioned"—that the laws of libel or any other laws, for example, obscenity, do not apply to him. There is not the faintest indication that the English Parliament or the American Founding Fathers ever imagined or intended that legislators should be above and beyond the laws of the land. The great principle is that for what a legislator says or does in the Legislature only the Legislature, not the courts or the executive, may judge him.

The manifest intent of the English Bill of Rights and of the American Constitution was not to make Senator McCarthy immune to the laws of the land. He is subject to all the laws of the land—the traffic laws, the income tax laws, the libel laws, the obscenity laws, and all the rest. He himself has no special privileges whatsoever. The special privilege is in the Senate, to be the only body which can question, judge and punish a Senator for a speech which violates the law.

The Constitution does not suspend any of the laws for the benefit of a Senator. The Constitution says that when the alleged offense is a speech in the Senate, the Senate and not the courts have jurisdiction of the offense.

THE PROOF that the Senate has jurisdiction in regulating the speech of Senators is to be found in the Rules of the Senate. Rule XIX says that "no Senator in debate shall, directly, or indirectly, by any form of words impute to another Senator or to other Senators any conduct or motive unworthy or unbecoming a Senator" and also that "no Senator shall refer offensively to any State of the Union."

It is true that in Rule XIX the Senate has limited the freedom of speech of Senators only to protect Senators—that under the rules as they now stand Senators may say anything they like about anybody on earth except only about another Senator.

BUT IT CANNOT be the claim of the Senate, or the intention of the Senate, to make of Senators a race apart, unbound by the laws of the land, or the rules of justice, or the canons of decency. If that were to become the practice, if McCarthyism were to become recognized as legitimate or even tolerable senatorial behavior, then the great principle of the Constitution would be in jeopardy.

Liberty, having degenerated into license, would again bring forth tyranny, "where blind and naked ignorance delivers brawling judgments unashamed on all things all day long."

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Senators May See Some of Files Today

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

The State Department loyalty files on 81 persons accused by Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) will probably be made available to Senate investigators at the White House, it was learned last night.

The first of the files will be ready for examination some time today, it is hoped. Delay in getting all of them, it is believed, comes from the fact that most were in the hands of the President's Loyalty Review Board, in accordance

Party Zeal Threatens Prestige, Says Jackson

Supreme Court Justice Jackson, in his opinion Monday on the Taft-Hartley non-Communist oath, discussed at length the role of political parties in the United States. At one point he said:

"All parties, when in opposition, strive to discredit and embarrass the Government of the day by spreading exaggerations and untruths and by inciting prejudiced or unreasoning discontent, not ven hesitating to injure the Nation's prestige among the family of nations.

with an order of Mr. Truman for that body to give them a post-audit.

It was also indicated yesterday that one or more officers of the State Department and the FBI will be available to aid in the examination, which will be made by the special Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee.

McCarthy has charged that the State Department has "raped" one of the files and is engaged in "spring housecleaning" on the rest, to remove derogatory material.

The subcommittee, however, can call on FBI personnel during the White House examination to determine whether all the data from

that agency are still included in the files.

Meantime, Democratic drum-fire against McCarthy continued yesterday with the accusation that he was a "hit and run" propagandist "of the Soviet type."

The accuser was Senator Benton (D., Conn.). In a speech urging approval of a part of the controversial FEPC, Benton departed from his text and cut loose.

"McCarthy doesn't argue, he doesn't answer, he doesn't reason. He hits and runs," Benton said.

"Senator McCarthy knows he can count on a vague distrust of the State Department and, like the Communist propagandist, he is doing his best to exploit it by any and every means."

In another development yesterday, wealthy Frederick Vanderbilt Field asked Senate loyalty investigators for another chance to answer questions in the McCarthy inquiry and thus save himself from a possible citation for contempt of Congress.

Field's unusual request for a rehearing to avoid contempt charges was made in a letter to the Senate Subcommittee.

The New Yorker, a reputed millionaire, has been described by McCarthy as an avowed Communist and an important link in McCarthy's chain of evidence against his No. 1 case, Owen Lattimore.

Field denied he was in contempt when he refused to answer a number of questions in testimony before the Tydings inquiry group April 28.

Through his attorney, Harold I. Cammer of New York, Field asked for a chance to reconsider the queries which he had turned aside with the reply that he was standing on his constitutional rights.

Cammer said a contempt action against Field would be "inconsistent with observance of the privilege against self-incrimination guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution."

Committee Counsel Edward P. Morgan recommended citations against both Field and Earl Browder, former United States Communist Party chief, after they testified in the current probe.

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McCarthy Threatens To Name 'Spy' Envoy From Senate Floor

Says He Will Put Case
Before Members Unless
Subcommittee Acts

BULLETIN

Chairman Tydings announced that a Senate subcommittee today will begin its study of State Department loyalty files on 81 persons accused of being Communists, fellow travelers or security risks. He declined to say immediately where the files would be examined.

By Cecil Holland

Senator McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, today threatened to take the Senate floor and name an American envoy he has accused of being a foreign agent.

He said he would do this if the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee investigating his charges of communism in the State Department fails to go thoroughly into the case.

"If I get resistance from the committee," the Wisconsin Republican said, "I will present the case as best I can on the Senate floor and name the man."

His charge of "foreign agent" against the unidentified envoy was made Sunday in a speech at Janesville, Wis. Previously, Senator McCarthy said, he had outlined "only a minor part of the case" in a February 20 Senate speech.

Subcommittee to Meet.

In that speech Senator McCarthy discussed the envoy as a top case in a total of 81 persons he accused of being Communists, fellow travelers or security risks. He said the envoy had supplied material to Russian agents and getting rid of him would "help to break the back of the espionage ring within the State Department."

Senator McCarthy's statements were made on his return yesterday afternoon from a Midwest trip and as the Senate investi-

gating group prepared to look into the State Department loyalty files on the 81 persons accused by the Wisconsin Republican.

The subcommittee, headed by Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, scheduled a closed meeting today to plan for the study of the files that President Truman ordered made available to the investigators.

McCarthy Answers Benton.

President Truman last week reversed a stand he had taken previously and agreed to let the committee see the State Department files. He acted after being informed that four other congressional groups looked into the same files more than two years ago.

Senator McCarthy also had a sharp retort for Senator Benton, Democrat, of Connecticut, who said in a Senate speech yesterday that the Wisconsin Republican was "a very talented propagandist of the Soviet type."

Senator Benton departed from the text of a prepared speech on the Fair Employment Practices bill to attack the McCarthy charges of communism in the State Department.

He said Senator McCarthy knows he can count "on a vague distrust of the State Department and, like the Communist propagandist, he is doing his best to exploit it by every means."

'Voice of America' Attacked.

"He doesn't argue, he doesn't answer, he doesn't reason," the Connecticut Senator said. "He hits and runs."

Senator McCarthy said that Senator Benton would be doing the people "a great favor if he would stop sniping at those of us who are trying to get rid of those who endanger this Nation."

He noted that Senator Benton, former Assistant Secretary of State in charge of the Voice of America broadcasts, had recently called for a big expansion in that program.

"Therefore," Senator McCarthy

added, "he should be interested in the names of two Voice of America employees whose names I recently gave the subcommittee. Those individuals have been using the program for Communist propaganda purposes."

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Capitol Hill Hears Tydings Will Get Whitewash Payoff

By WALTER TROHAN

Rumors are flying thick and fast in the Capital on the reward Sen. Tydings (D) of Maryland will receive for his services in attempting to whitewash the Administration in general and the State department in particular of blotches of communism.

Many congressmen make no secret of belief that the 60-year-old Marylander has sold out to the White House for an ambassadorship, the Supreme court or the vice presidential nomination in 1952.

Others are indignant over the suggestion that Tydings has made a deal. These Administration members believe, however, that Tydings will be rewarded for his protection of the Administration.

Tydings is chairman of the Senate foreign relations subcommittee which was named to investigate charges of communism in the State department. Many members feel that Tydings is more interested in protecting the Administration than in investigating sabotage of foreign policy by the Reds.

The senator is a candidate for re-election next fall. He has received many letters from Maryland constituents criticizing him for defending the Administration.

The heavy protest mail, according to Capitol Hill reports, has brought some concern among his supporters that he may be defeated. Tydings has shown no

concern over this possibility, which has convinced some of his associates that he has reached an understanding with the White House.

Some congressmen believe Tydings has been promised the post of chief justice of the Supreme court.

Other members say Mr. Truman has promised Tydings the vice presidential nomination in 1952.

Still others believe Tydings has been offered an ambassadorship, possibly to Moscow, where his father-in-law, Joseph E. Davies, once represented this country.

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26 Documents in Amerasia Case Listed

Seized by OSS Agents

(See editorial, Page 52.)
 By FREDERICK WOLTMAN Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

A list of 26 Government documents recovered by agents of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in their wartime raid on Amerasia magazine came into possession of The News and other Scripps-Howard Newspapers today.

The list was presented last week to an executive session of the Tydings Senate Foreign Relations sub-committee investigating charges of Communism in the State Department. It has never been made public by the Government.

The very titles refute claims that the Amerasia documents

stolen from the State Department, mostly contained inconsequential gossip.

These claims have been advanced by spokesmen for the Justice Department to explain its failure to press the prosecution of Philip J. Jaffe and his associates on Amerasia.

Many of the reports are marked "restricted," "confidential" or "secret" and deal with political and economic conditions in the Far East.

In the hands of Mr. Jaffe, a

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Communist, they gave him inside knowledge of Government wartime and postwar policies not available to any but top Government officials. Mr. Jaffe used this data in his magazine which was dedicated to promoting Communist aims in Asia.

The contents of the 26 documents were not learned. But their titles follow.

- "Policy Toward Japan" Secret.

- "Report to Secretary of State No. 2796 Regarding T. V. Soong and H. H. Kung." Secret.

- "Plan to Permit Overseas Japanese to Organize for Political Warfare Against Japan." 3/8/45. Secret.

- "Economic Policy Toward Japan, 1/6/45." Secret.

- "Report to Secretary of State No. 2761 Regarding Relations Between Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang Kai-shek." Secret.

- "India, April, 1944." Restricted.

- "Report No. 2730 Regarding a Speech Delivered by Dr. Huang Yin-pei on 5/29/44." Restricted.

- "Chinese Views Regarding the Postwar Treatment of Japan, 2/22/45." Secret.

- "Transportation Conditions in China." Confidential.

- "The Hot Springs Institute of Pacific Relations Conference, 1/25/45." Confidential.

- "An OSS Report Regarding References to Activities of Indonesia, Japan and Occupied Areas." Confidential.

- "Preliminary Survey of the Economy of French Indo-China." State Department.

- "Preliminary Survey of Industry and Mining in China." State Department.

- "Preliminary Survey of the Economy of Thailand."

- "Preliminary Economic Survey of Korea."

- "OSS Report Re Gen. Fang Chien-chueh." Stamped by State Department.

- "Report No. 1486 to Secretary of State from American Ambassador at Chungking."

- "Report of OSS Regarding the PPC as Viewed by a Chinese Liberal."

- "Importance of Reconstruction of Agriculture—China."

- "Military Intelligence Summary—Europe."

- "State Department Policy."

- "Personal Intelligence—Far East."

- "Personal Intelligence—Near and Middle East."

- "China's First Public Opinion

Poll with Source as the OSS, Research and Analysis Branch, Report No. 78."

- "Report to Secretary of State No. 2914."

- "Official Japanese Broadcasts, North American Affairs."

HUNDREDS OF OTHERS

The Feb. 22, 1945 secret report on the post-war treatment of Japan was dated just 17 days before it was found in Mr. Jaffe's office by the OSS raiders.

Frank Brooks Bielaski, OSS chief investigator who led the raid, found hundreds of similar documents, some of a military character. Evenful his superiors in Washington might doubt the magnitude of his find, he seized the 26 as a sampling.

It was OSS's discovery of these documents that led to the subsequent FBI investigation and raid on Amerasia which uncovered 1,600 reports.

MAY 11 1950

Commie Probers Split on Worth Of Loyalty Files

Senate investigators of State department Communism, studying loyalty files under guard at the White House, yesterday split concerning the future course of the inquiry.

Four members of the Senate foreign relations subcommittee ended a second day of perusing State department records on 81 employees named as security risks by Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin.

This preliminary investigation convinced the Republican minority, Sens. Hickenlooper of Iowa and Lodge of Massachusetts, that the files alone could not form a basis for conclusions.

Tydings Wants Quick Report

But chairman Tydings of Maryland and his Democratic colleague, Sen. Green of Rhode Island, expressed the opinion that the records could be examined in a two-week period and a report rushed through.

Sen. Hickenlooper, absent Wednesday, joined the White House study group and looked through three files. He later told reporters that he disagreed violently with Tydings' statement that the State department records would prove the truth or falsity of McCarthy's charges.

"This matter goes far beyond the McCarthy charges," he said. "The resolution under which we are acting demands that we examine the broad question of whether disloyal employees, past or present, were employed by the State department. I am being sent much information which is independent of the material furnished by Sen. McCarthy."

Thorough Study Favored

"We are just beginning on these 81 files and it will be a number of weeks, at least, before we can make a thorough study of them."

"You cannot get a complete picture of an employee just by studying a file on him," agreed Lodge. "You must summon witnesses who can be questioned about information in the records."

Both Republican senators complained of the "strings" attached to President Truman's opening of the files which reversed his previous stand. The barring of committee staff members was protested. And the refusal to permit senators to take notes, made during the file examination, out of the White House, was criticized as making an adequate study impossible.

Files Called Incomplete

No State department records are available, it was charged, on some of the most important officials accused by McCarthy. Among these are Owen Lattimore, a consultant on Far East policy; John S. Service, a foreign office executive, now under investigation by a loyalty board; and Haldore Hanson, chief of the staff making plans for Mr. Truman's "Point 4" program for spreading American dollars in far corners of the earth.

In the House, the un-American activities committee recommended citation of 39 witnesses for contempt in connection with the recent inquiry into communism in Hawaii.

4-28
Tolson ✓
Ladd ✓
Clegg ✓
Glavin ✓
Nichols ✓
Rosen ✓
Tracy ✓
Harbo ✓
Belmont ✓
Mohr ✓
Tele. Room ✓
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Gandy ✓

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Republican Party backing him, it is no secret that the persons selected by him for scapegoats, such as Jessup, Lattimore and others are deliberate, true servants of American reactionaries."

"The fact of the matter," the paper added, "is that regular elections to Congress are going to be held this autumn. Therefore, a group of Republican Senators staged this comedy in Congress against the Democratic party."

Mr. Lattimore, expert on the Far East, was accused by Senator McCarthy of being the No. 1 Soviet spy in the United States. Dr. Jessup, American roving Ambassador, was accused by the Senator of Red leanings. Both have denied the charges.

Lattimore and Jessup Reactionary, Reds Say

By the Associated Press

MOSCOW, May 12.—The Communist Party newspaper, Pravda today depicted Owen Lattimore and Dr. Philip C. Jessup, both charged by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, with Communist leanings, as "deliberate, true servants of American reactionaries."

In a New York dispatch, headlined "Total Hysteria," Pravda ridiculed American reaction to Senator McCarthy's charges of communism in the State Department.

"Of course," said Pravda, "for McCarthy and the section of the

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Tydings Committee Surprised at FBI Data Found in Loyalty File

by Cecil Holland

Behalf investigators today studied State Department loyalty files and were reported as getting much more FBI information from the records than they had expected.

The files, being studied in strict secrecy at the White House under presidential restriction, cover the 81 persons accused by Senator McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, of being Communists, fellow travelers or security risks.

Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, said the records contain a vast amount of information collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and added: "We've got from the FBI everything J. Edgar Hoover has got."

FBI 'Raw' Material Excluded.

This, however, does not include the so-called FBI "raw" material from which the agency compiled its reports to the State Department. President Truman has refused to make the FBI files them-

selfs available to the investigating committee.

Some members of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee making the investigation said they were amazed by the extent and detailed nature of the FBI reports.

Senator Tydings, who heads the subcommittee investigating the McCarthy charges, has said the examination of the files in the 81 cases will determine "the truth of falsity" of the charges made by the Wisconsin Republican.

However, Senator Hickenlooper, Republican of Iowa, a committee member, indicated the examination may not give a final answer.

Files May Produce Leads.

He said the files may produce leads which the investigating group may want to pursue further by questioning some of the FBI informants.

One thing seemed certain: The Senate investigation likely will go on for weeks.

Committee members said it would take two or three weeks at least to complete the check of

State Department files. Leads, if any, obtained from the files will have to be followed up.

In addition, several phases of the investigation must be pursued independently since the files contain no information bearing directly on persons accused by Senator McCarthy. There is also the 1945 Amerasia case involving the alleged theft of Government documents which the committee is looking into.

The committee has examined one witness, Frank Biefaski, an agent of the wartime Office of Strategic Services, in the Amerasia case and probably will hear others.

Still another phase includes study of the State Department's loyalty and security procedures. This is being conducted by Senators Green, Democrat of Rhode Island, and Lodge, Republican of Massachusetts, members of the investigating group.

Question Officials.

The two Senators have been questioning State Department officials in charge of the loyalty and security programs. They plan to

go to Europe late this month to study of such procedures abroad.

The vast amount of work confronting the subcommittee Senator Hickenlooper to suggest "some more practical approach for examining the files and carrying on other phases of the inquiry."

Under restrictions laid down by Mr. Truman in making the files available, only members of subcommittee are permitted to examine them. They have been barred to the committee staff.

The tight restrictions also require that the files be examined only in the White House. One member said the committee was not even permitted to take notes on the cases.

File

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Date:

State's Reply Full of Error, McCarthy Says

Senator Finds Facts
'Misstated' in Letter
To Nation's Editors

New York, May 14 (U.P.).—Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) said tonight the State Department's "white paper" implying he is a premeditated liar "contains at least several glaring and apparently deliberate misstatements of fact."

He said he had not seen the department's document on his recent speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors. But he added, "from the brief reports in the newspapers, however, I note that it contains . . . a number of deceitful attempts to play upon words."

McCarthy disputed the department's statement that Ambassador-at-Large Phillip C. Jessup was "merely one of 50 trustees" and never chairman of the research advisory committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

He said Jessup in 1944 was "chairman of the research advisory committee (which controlled the publication in question)." McCarthy said the department is "painfully aware" of "Jessup's sworn testimony" about his connection with the institute and the advisory committee.

The State Department also states that Jessup belonged to no Communist-front organizations. McCarthy said, "I gave photostatic proof to the (Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee) committee that he was affiliated with five organizations listed by the Attorney General or congressional committees as fronts for the Communist Party."

McCarthy said the department's remarks about George Wheeler were "another example of the department's playing upon words in an attempt to deceive." McCarthy had asserted that Wheeler, who renounced democracy to live behind the Iron Curtain, had been cleared by the department's Loyalty Board. This the department denied.

Tolson ✓
Ladd ✓
Clegg ✓
Glavin ✓
Nichols ✓
Rosen ✓
Tracy ✓
Harbo ✓
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Tele. Room ✓
Nease ✓
Gandy ✓

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Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Disaster in Asia

By E. F. TOMPKINS

I—THE McCARTHY DISCLOSURES.

NO MATTER WHAT THE Tydings Committee says, Senator McCarthy's indictment of the State Department has been a very successful "fishing expedition."

It demonstrated to the American people the furtive way in which our "foreign policy" is concocted and conducted.

It showed that much of this "policy" has hewn to the Communist Party line; yet that—in order to obtain the facts—it is not necessary, nor perhaps relevant, to detect Communist Party members at work.

The expose compelled publication of A SECRET STATE DEPARTMENT DOCUMENT which has made OTHER documents comprehensible, and has clearly indicated that the United States is being decoyed into global disaster.

Senator McCarthy himself delved up the significant names of PROF. OWEN J. LATTIMORE and of the "career man" JOHN STEWART SERVICE revealing—AND INTERRUPTING—their latest activities.

THE FOREGOING DEVELOPMENTS, which have hardly been exploited, apparently contain the key to several post-war Oriental mysteries; among them being—

- 1—The incredible fall of China to the Communists.
- 2—The persistent embarrassments of General MacArthur in Japan.
- 3—The withdrawal of our occupation forces from Korea.
- 4—The impending Bolshevization of India and Southeast Asia.

There is now available a mass of PRINTED EVIDENCE bearing on these precarious situations.

Much of this evidence has actually been assembled in the State Department's own *White Book* on China, issued in August, 1949.

Handwritten notes:
 [Signature]
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 J.F.

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TITLE
 CLASS *Internal Security - C*
 FROM *Journal American*
 DATE *5-15-50*
 FILED BY *S* DIVISION

The evidence includes:

(A)—The indignant letter written to President Truman by Gen. Patrick J. Hurley in resigning as our frustrated Ambassador at Chungking.

(B)—The repressed reports on the defense of China submitted by Lieut. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer.

(C)—The Pauley report on Far Eastern reparations.

(D)—Vice President Wallace's defeatist report on China—probably written by Owen J. Lattimore and John Carter Vincent, a State Department "career man."

(E)—Sundry reports by John Stewart Service and other diplomatic "career men" whom General Hurley denounced.

(F)—Lattimore's secret report on Asian policy, which coincided in time and tone with the *White Book* and was obviously an instruction to Prof. Philip C. Jessup, the State Department's "Ambassador-at-Large."

PATRIOTIC INQUIRY INTO the McCarthy charges should NOT be merely another "Red hunt."

It should be a drastic investigation of the tragical failure of our Far Eastern policy.

A genuine inquiry would show that American agents—whether "Communists" or not—have **COLLABORATED IN A PROGRAM FOR THE COMMUNIST MASTERY OF ASIA.**

The inquiry would show that the program has been divided into two phases.

The first phase culminated in *the loss of China.*

The second phase is *now commencing* in South and South-eastern Asia.

The record will show that OWEN J. LATTIMORE and JOHN STEWART SERVICE were "present" during the first phase—**IN CHINA.**

And SENATOR McCARTHY has shown that, when the second phase was getting started **IN SOUTH ASIA**, Owen J. Lattimore and John Stewart Service *were already there.*

(To be continued.)

Myers Denounces McCarthy Call for Acheson's Ouster

By the Associated Press

Senator McCarthy's demand that Secretary of State Acheson be fired drew a counter blast today from Senator Myers of Pennsylvania who said the Wisconsin Republican is just talking politics.

Senator Myers, the assistant Democratic leader of the Senate, denounced Senator McCarthy's demand as a "deliberate and malicious attempt to undermine America's leadership in foreign affairs."

He accused Senator McCarthy of being "more interested in the next election" than "in the future well being and peace of the world."

Senator Brewster, Republican of Maine, on the other hand, gave support to Senator McCarthy's criticism.

Brewster Sees Loss of Confidence.

"For the good of the country," Senator Brewster said in an interview, "it ought to be possible to secure men (as Secretary of State) who would command more general confidence and do the job that is required in this very critical time."

Senator Brewster, chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, said he thought both Republican and Democratic Senators had shown a lack of confidence in Mr. Acheson's foreign policies.

Senator Myers' statement was dictated to reporters in answer to an Atlantic City (N. J.) speech yesterday in which Senator McCarthy called on President Truman to fire the Secretary of State as "the headmaster who betrays us in Asia."

Lincoln White Attacks McCarthy.

Senator McCarthy said the President also should relieve United States Roving Ambassador Philip C. Jessup of his duties and oust "those prancing mimics of the Moscow party line in the State Department."

Lincoln White, McCarthy's ally, declared that Dr. Joseph P. Kamp, a "sponsor" of the Russian Institute, charged McCarthy with a "rape of the facts."

In a second hearing, Mr. White revived the charge of Senator McCarthy's conduct in Wisconsin judge in 1953. White said he believed the Senate had ordered the destruction of his own oral remarks in a court case.

"Acheson-Lattimore Axis."

Mr. White said Justice Rosenberg referred to Sen. McCarthy's action as "destruction of evidence" and a highly improper "abuse of judicial power."

In his speech before a convention of the Sons of the American Revolution, Sen. McCarthy linked Mr. Acheson with Owen Lattimore in what he called a "Acheson-Lattimore Axis" in shaping American policy in the Orient.

Sen. McCarthy has charged Mr. Lattimore, a Johns Hopkins University professor, with being the "top Soviet espionage agent" in the United States. Mr. Lattimore has sworn before a Senate investigating committee that Sen. McCarthy is a liar, and that he is not and never has been a Communist. The committee is looking into charges by Sen. McCarthy that the State Department harbors Communists.

Dr. Jessup, too, has been under attack by Sen. McCarthy as an "unwitting but very willing stooge" of Mr. Lattimore, and as friendly to the Communists. He has denied the allegations.

Tolson ✓
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Clegg ✓
Glavin ✓
Nichols ✓
Rosen ✓
Tracy ✓
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Belmont ✓
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Date: MAY 16 1954

Disaster in Asia

By E. F. TOMPKINS

II—The Lattimore Program

SENATOR McCARTHY "LOCATED" Owen J. Lattimore and "career man" John Service in South Asia just as the Tydings Committee was about to squelch his charges of Communist influence in the State Department.

Consequently, the inquiry had to continue.

Lattimore was in Afghanistan, a strategic area—reportedly not as a U. S. employee.

He was there for the United Nations, which this country supports, on behalf of President Truman's "Point Four," which this country will finance.

Service was on his way to India as a Consul General when Senator McCarthy divulged that Service was being quietly recalled *to undergo a fourth inspection of his loyalty record.*

Before either of them could appear before the Tydings Committee, Senator McCarthy compelled Lattimore to "release" the secret statement made by him last August to "guide" Ambassador-at-Large Jessup in formulating American policy in South Asia—**THE NEW ZONE OF COMMUNIST INTRIGUE AND EXPANSION.**

BECAUSE OF THE ASSIGNMENT of these two "Far Eastern experts" to South Asia at such a time, the Lattimore statement is of major importance.

For not only is it a prospectus for Jessup to follow in India and Southeast Asia; it is also a lineal continuation of our Left-Wing "policy" in China.

Superficially, the Lattimore document deplores Soviet aggrandizement.

Beneath the camouflage, it is a doctrine of American surrender in the "cold war."

It implies that we must yield to Communism in the Orient because we are confronted by Communism in Europe.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
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Mr. Belmont	_____
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Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

W. A. C.
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TITLE

CLASS

FROM
NY

DATED MAY 17 1950

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

Journal American

*It was the period in which Vice-President Wallace—
an ideological captive of the Left-Wing—was sent to
China to re-write our policy.*

In his report, made in 1944, Wallace followed the Communist Party line.

"Chiang," he said, "at best is a **SHORT TERM** investment."

The Vice-President's advisers in China were Owen J. Lattimore, John Carter Vincent, State Department "career man," and John Hazard, the State Department's Chief Liaison Officer for its Division of Soviet Supply.

Some other activities of Lattimore's merit cursory attention.

On October 15, 1945, Lattimore became a member of the Pauley Reparations Mission to Japan.

Also detailed were John Carter Vincent and John Hazard.

On October 30—after protests—Commissioner Pauley announced Lattimore's demotion, **BEFORE THE MISSION HAD DEPARTED.**

In an interview published in September, 1945, Lattimore opposed MacArthur's policies in Japan, proposing that the Emperor be interned in China—among the Communists, presumably.

In an article in *The Nation* on September 2, 1949, Lattimore condemned U. S. "intervention" in China, praised Soviet "non-intervention" and **ADVOCATED RECOGNITION OF THE COMMUNISTS.**

Lattimore also opposed the Truman Doctrine in Greece and Turkey, and wanted the United Nations to operate the Marshall Plan, with Russia "assisting."

In conclusion, it may be noted that two of Lattimore's recent books—one especially anticipating **A SOVIET ASIA**—have been enthusiastically praised in the Moscow press.

(To be continued)

Accordingly, it calls for—

- 1—Complete desertion of Nationalist China.
- 2—Admission of the Chinese Communist Government to the United Nations.
- 3—Withdrawal of our last interest in Korea.
- 4—Abandonment of Japan—with a suggestion that Japan become allied with the Chinese "Reds."
- 5—A benevolent attitude—including "economic support"—toward the Communists in Indonesia and Indo-China, and even in Mongolia.

Undoubtedly, if the Lattimore chart be followed, COMMUNISM will soon command the boundless populations and the vast resources of all Asia.

AS A CONGRESSIONAL WITNESS on his own behalf, Owen Lattimore has testified under oath that he has never been a Communist spy, a Communist Party member or a Communist sympathizer.

Accusations that he ever was are not the subject of this discussion.

This is simply a review of American foreign policy, of which Lattimore has undoubtedly been an effective architect.

The report made last August for Ambassador Jessup, and Lattimore's recent assignment in Afghanistan, were merely THE LATEST EPISODES in his public activities.

For background on these affairs, it is necessary to refer to Lattimore's previous record in the Far East.

(To Be Continued)

Tolson ☒
 Ladd ☒
 Clegg ☐
 Glavin ☐
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 Nease ☐
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Ex-Boss of Lattimore Wields State Dept. Lash on McCarthy

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The "master mind" of the State department's revenge campaign against Sen. McCarthy (R.) of Wisconsin was identified on Capitol Hill yesterday as Assistant State Secretary Edward W. Barrett, a veteran office of war information propagandist.

Barrett was wooed from his post as an editorial director of Newsweek magazine three months ago to accept the State department post. He had served in high OWI posts from 1942 to 1946 and was for a time the superior of Owen Lattimore, China policy consultant named as a Communist agent by McCarthy and Louis F. Budenz, former Communist editor. Communistic infiltration of the OWI was repeatedly exposed in Congress.

Attacked by Brewster

Soon after he took office, Barrett was attacked on the Senate floor by Sen. Brewster (R.) of Maine for an apparent attempt to intimidate a Newsweek editor whose attitude on the McCarthy charges of State department communism was questioned by Barrett.

The 39-year-old Barrett, it was learned, with the co-operation of Sens. Tydings (D) of Maryland and Lucas (D) of Illinois, is stage-managing the Senate attacks on McCarthy and his witnesses, which began May 3 but have bogged down recently.

Three Democratic senators delivered speeches prepared by a State department corps of 30 high-salaried experts but the repercussions were so painful that no additional spokesmen have been found to read a number of additional ready-made orations.

Sen. Chavez (D) of New Mexico,

a Catholic, like Budenz, who was induced to read a speech May 12, attacking the "depravity" of Budenz, is under severe attack in his home State, it was learned. Thousands of women are writing to Chavez and to the Catholic bishop of New Mexico, it was reported, protesting against Chavez' charge that three of Budenz' children were born out of wedlock. The women assailed this assault upon "innocent children."

As members of the Senate foreign relations subcommittee headed by Tydings continued their White House study of loyalty files relating to 81 individuals accused by McCarthy, an exchange of letters between committee counsel Edward Morgan and McCarthy was made public.

Morgan asked McCarthy to supply him with evidence backing up a charge that the files had been stripped of damaging data before they were shown to the senators.

McCarthy replied that such evidence could be gathered if the White House would relax its order forbidding skilled investigators for the subcommittee to examine the files.

Immunity Assailed

Atty. Abe Fortas, representing Lattimore, told an American Veterans' committee meeting that Congress should take steps to dissolve the congressional immunity from libel which its members enjoy under the Constitution. He assailed McCarthy's charges against Lattimore as "a vicious and dangerous" threat to "free expression of ideas."

Fortas suggested that Senate and House rules be revised to permit either chamber by majority vote to require a member to waive his immunity.

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Letter to Editors

Taft Denies Urging Steps By McCarthy

Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio) in a form letter to Ohio newspapermen has flatly denied that he ever urged Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) to keep on presenting names of alleged Communists in the State Department "no matter how little evidence he had."

"Apparently this story originated in a column by Mr. Drew Pearson and it is not true," Taft said in his letter to the Ohio press.

Asked for comment on the Taft denial, Pearson told The Post:

"When my column about Senator Taft's encouragement of Senator McCarthy appeared the Senator substantiated the general facts as I reported them. Apparently he has since had a change of heart. Very bad public reaction may have been the reason."

Senator Taft's letter denying the story inclosed two copies of Taft's own column, "Washington Report," released for publication April 12 and April 19. Taft said these showed "my exact position on the McCarthy investigation."

"You will note that I never heard of Senator McCarthy's charges before he made them, and that he had never received or sought advice from me; but that I think the committee should thoroughly investigate those charges," Taft's letter continued.

"Should the matter arise again, I should be glad if you would correct any misapprehension which still exists," the letter said.

Pearson's column of March 22 quoted Taft as telling other Republican Senators at luncheon: "I told Joe . . . to keep talking. I don't think he's got anything. But the longer he talks the more people will think he has something."

Pearson told The Post that when his column appeared the New York Times of March 23 quoted Taft as saying that while Senator McCarthy's charges were not a matter of party policy he (Mr. Taft) had personally urged the Wisconsin Senator to press his charges.

Senator Taft's April 19 "Washington Report" column, to which newsmen were referred in his Ohio letter, had this to say on his position:

"I notice that some commentators credit me with being back of the McCarthy charges and advising Senator McCarthy. As a matter of fact, I never heard of the charges until he made them. He has never consulted me about his course, and I have given him no advice. It does seem to me that he should present his evidence to the committee and that, if the committee considers evidence on Mr. A inadequate, he should present his evidence on Mr. B. In my opinion the committee should receive this evidence in secret and only call for public hearings if it feels that the case is substantial."

Taft's April 12 "Washington Report" said:

"Senator McCarthy did not consult the Republican Policy Committee before making his charges, and the evidence in the individual cases has not been available to us. But we have insisted that in accordance with the Senate resolution a complete investigation is justified and should be made without prejudice and with a sincere effort to obtain the real facts."

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MAY 1
Date:

Sen. McCarthy Misquoted Data, Says State Dept.

By Associated Press

The State department charged last night that Sen. McCarthy had deliberately misquoted a congressional report to imply falsely that loyalty files were wide open to anyone in the department.

Actually access to the files is "strictly limited," the department said. It accused McCarthy of a "crude misquotation" in which he substituted the name of the department itself for the name of its security division.

This was done in a Chicago speech May 6, the department said. It made public its second point-by-point analysis of an address by the Wisconsin Republican senator who has carried on a running attack against the department as a hotbed of communism.

14 Points Cited

The department statement picked the speech apart in an attempt to show McCarthy wrong on 14 points. These included a number of previously denied and "refuted" charges, which drew a new broadside of replies.

It led off with a blow aimed at McCarthy's assertion that State department loyalty files furnished to a Senate committee investigating his charges were "phony."

The Senate investigators now are going through these records which deal with the cases of 81 persons whom McCarthy has labeled as Communists or fellow travelers. The records were released to Congress by President Truman. McCarthy immediately charged the files had been "raped" and "purged."

To get the truth about his charges, the senator said, Congress needs the files of the FBI, the Army and Navy intelligence services, the secret service and the central intelligence agencies.

Files Declared Complete

The State department observed that "the facts" about its files given the committee are that they are "full and complete . . . current as of the date transmitted. They contain all information relevant to the determination of employe loyalty or security."

It noted that under the federal loyalty program the FBI is the agency which conducts loyalty investigations of State department personnel. It added:

"The files made available to the committee contain the material collected by the FBI and transmitted to the State department."

The department analysis said that McCarthy's "misquotation" of a Congressional report in his Chicago speech dealt with one made by House appropriations committee investigators dated Jan. 27, 1948. This report accompanied a list of cases forming the basis for McCarthy's original blast against the department in the Senate Feb. 20, the statement added.

McCarthy Is Quoted

It quoted McCarthy as saying at Chicago:

"Now from page 37 of the House report I quote the following: ' . . . Almost anyone and everyone in the State department had access to the files . . .'"

But what the report actually said, according to the State department, is:

" . . . Most everyone and anyone in the division has access to the files . . ."

The department added:

"The division that the House investigators were talking about was the division of security . . . charged with the physical and personnel security program of the department and the foreign service, and it is therefore essential that its staff have access to the files when needed."

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Case No. 33. This man has been in the Government service since July 1942. The picture is pretty much the same as in the last case, except that he is in a high-salaried position at the present time in the Office of Information and Education. This man, I know definitely, is in the Office of Information and Education of the State Department. He signed an affidavit in 1940 that he was a member of the Communist Party. He has been in the Government service since 1942. Apparently no check was made on him as to his other Communist activities, and I have no further information about him.

File.

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June 10, 1950
Cong. Sec. 1000
5-20-50

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THESE DAYS

By George Sokolsky

To understand the present confusions concerning McCarthy-Lattimore-Tydings-Budenz, et al one must go back far into the record.

I have before me the proceedings of the special committee of the committee on military affairs of the House of Representatives, dated Feb. 27, 1945. It is a record of confusion. Here is a desire, during actual war, to discover subversive elements in our armed forces.

The witness is John J. McCloy, then assistant secretary of war, now our representative in Germany, a man of brilliant mind and devotion to his country.

IN this testimony is an instruction from Brig. Gen. Robert H. Dunlop which states:

"... No action will be taken... that is predicated on membership in or adherence to the doctrines of the Communist party unless there is a specific finding that the individual involved has a loyalty to the Communist party as an organization which overrides his loyalty to the United States. No such finding should be based on the mere fact that the individual's views on various social questions have been the same as the views which the Communist party may have advanced..."

This instruction does two things:

FIRST, it eliminates any consideration of the history of the Bolshevik movement since 1903, which proves that no Communist can place his country above his party. No person in the world can be a member of international communism who does not accept party above country.

To eliminate that from consideration of a Communist's affiliation is to give the case away.

Secondly, it eliminates proof by association. As usually no other proof is available, it becomes hopeless in most cases to establish the fact by rules of evidence.

MR. McCLOY commented: "In dealing with individuals suspected of communism or communist beliefs, obvious

difficulties confronted the Army. In the first place, it was necessary (assuming the Hatch act to apply) to prove membership in the Communist party (which the attorney general found administratively to advocate the overthrow of our government by violence) in order to bar service in the Army. There is some doubt whether the Hatch act does apply.

"Experience demonstrated the virtual impossibility of developing actual legal proof of such membership on the part of persons desiring to conceal their membership..."

Precisely. As long as proof by association was eliminated, there could be no evidence. All a man had to say was, "it ain't so." That established his position. Mr. McCloy further said: "... There was evidence that the Communist party took action to prevent the application of the Hatch act to its members in the Army by giving them leaves of absence in such manner as to constitute at least a suspension, if not an annulment, of membership..."

UNDER this curious and weak procedure, all a man had to do was to withdraw from active membership for a 24-hour period and during that time, he could swear that he did not belong.

Communists rarely do things that are crimes under our laws, no matter how harmful they may be. For instance, slanting a textbook to corrupt the minds of our children is neither a felony nor a misdemeanor.

I THINK the entire subject was summed up in the colloquy between Congressman Thomason and Mr. McCloy:

"Mr. Thomason: Then... if a man said he was a Communist, or there was some evidence that he was affiliated with the so-called Communist party, you would not necessarily hold that that man belongs to a political party that favors overthrow of our present form of government?"

Mr. McCloy: We cannot take that position in the light of the great confusion that exists in the judicial tribunals of the country as to whether that is a tenet of the Communist party or not."

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Ex-OSS Agent Links Big Shot To Amerasia

Raider Discloses Memo on 'Bomb'

By International News Service

Frank Bielaski, who made the original Amerasia raid, charged yesterday that the case involves an "internationally famous" figure who "towers head and shoulders" above any individual yet named in the affair.

Bielaski, former agent of the Office of Strategic Services, declared that the "Hiss-Chambers affair is mere chicken feed compared with Amerasia."

Data on "New Bomb"

Scores of secret government documents were found by Bielaski in the office of the magazine Amerasia, which has been charged with supporting the Communist line.

The ex-OSS official declared, in a televised "Meet the Press" interview, that among documents he found in Amerasia's office at the time of the raid, was a type-written memorandum on the "new bomb."

He said this memo was unsigned and on regular rough copy paper, along with two others—one describing the bombing pattern for Japan and the other outlining the location of the Japanese fleet before the battle of Leyte.

Six persons, including career diplomat John S. Service, were arrested as a result of the Amerasia case, but only editor Philip Jaffe and his assistant, Emanuel Larsen, were convicted. Jaffe was fined \$2,500, Larsen \$500.

3,000 Stolen Papers

Service, who is currently undergoing a new federal loyalty check, was arrested but was not indicted.

Bielaski said he found 3,000 stolen documents in the Amerasia magazine office, and they had been stolen in a period of three months. He said:

"At that rate, it was possible for Amerasia to have a copy of every document the State wrote in connection with the Far East."

The former OSS official said the "internationally famous" individual he described as linked with Amerasia "does not work for the government." Bielaski de-

(Turn to Page 2, Col. 2)

Ex-OSS Agent Links Big Shots To Amerasia

(Continued from First Page)

clined to say whether the individual ever had been a government official.

Bielaski has appeared at a closed-door session of the Tydings Senate committee probing the charges of Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin that Communists have infiltrated the State department.

He declined yesterday to divulge any of his testimony before the Tydings group, which at the time shed no light upon what he told the committee, although McCarthy—not a committee member—said the testimony dealt with the atom bomb.

Bielaski said that if the Amerasia case were reopened in a congressional investigation or otherwise it would "expose and drive" Communists out of the State department.

FBI Agents Not Called

Bielaski listed six active and former G-men he said were not called before the grand jury when it probed Amerasia. He said that all would be "glad" to testify at any time.

Those he listed were J. Lewis Ames, William Dunne, of New York; Joseph Garvey, Robert Brownell, of Washington, Eugene Calder, of Ypsilanti, Mich., and Daniel O'Connor.

Bielaski was asked why the Amerasia case was "hushed up" by the government at the time it was broken. He replied:

"There are too many people who believe a pledge of silence to a government department is more important than the oath of allegiance to the government."

Bielaski said that 40 stolen FBI documents were found in the Larsen's apartment.

Cites Fingerprints

He also stated that fingerprints on at least one of the Amerasia documents were enough to convict a government official of perjury.

In discussing the "new bomb" memorandum, Bielaski said he did not remember its contents too clearly, but could recall no reference to the atom bomb, which at the time of the raid had not yet blasted Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

Bielaski was asked whether convicted perjurer Alger Hiss had any connection with the Amerasia case.

He replied that Hiss was not connected with this case but added:

"I had determined for myself that he was a Communist, however, about the time of the United Nations charter meeting in San Francisco in 1945."

Hiss was secretary of the conference which drew up the charter of the United Nations.

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Why Not A REAL Investigation?

STILL, the Tydings committee shows no inclination to investigate properly Senator McCarthy's charges against the State Department.

Instead, we see Administration supporters—including New Deal members of the committee—participating in a vindictive vendetta against Senator McCarthy on the floor of Congress.

But their intimidatory effort DISCREDITED ITSELF when Senator Chavez of New Mexico impugned his own religious faith—which is also Senator McCarthy's—in a refuted attempt to damage an important witness.

ACTUALLY, there is not much mystery behind the McCarthy charges.

The Wisconsin Republican alleged that the State Department continues to harbor Communist sympathizers, and that the FBI files contain documentary evidence thereof.

The State Department, and the White House, too, denied this charge.

But the public remembered Alger Hiss—and was not impressed.

President Truman, withholding the FBI data, gave the committee some old files of the State Department itself.

Plainly, the New Deal tactic is to BELITTLE THE MCCARTHY CHARGES as merely an ill-informed and futile "Red hunt."

What the Tydings committee seems to ignore is that such a maneuver WOULD LEAVE THE REAL INDICTMENT UNANSWERED.

Moreover, it would leave the nation exposed to **A MORTAL DANGER** with which Congress should be gravely concerned.

The Baltimore News Post
Baltimore, Md.
May 23, 1950

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Mohr	

SENATOR MCCARTHY'S real charge is not just the persistent employment of left-wingers by the Government.

His real charge is that a pro-Communist policy contrived our diplomatic defeat in China and the military adversities of the Nationalists; that consequently our defensive position in the Pacific has been jeopardized; and that a prospective Communist conquest of South Asia will deprive us of strategic materials and isolate us from natural allies.

Senator McCarthy alleged that Prof. Owen Lattimore has been a "chief architect" of this defeatist policy.

He alleged that others in and around the State Department collaborated in our undoing.

These are matters that can be readily investigated.

Documentary evidence is PUBLICLY AVAILABLE in the State Department's "White Book" on China and in other official papers.

The requirement is a drastic inquiry into the State Department's Far Eastern methods.

And the Tydings group, belonging to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has jurisdiction to conduct A GENUINE INVESTIGATION.

SO FAR, the subcommittee has made HARDLY A GESTURE in this direction.

This is not the way for a committee of the United States Senate to demean itself.

It is certainly not the way for the representatives of the sovereign state to safeguard the security of THE UNITED STATES.

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Hobbs Sees Link to Russia

Secret Record of 1946 Probe Of Amerasia Case Made Public

By The Associated Press

The seals were ripped off the investigation record of the hotly-disputed Amerasia case of 1945 in Congress yesterday. It came amid disputed talk of a "cover-up" in the case that prompted Representative Brown (R., Ohio) to declare there were House rumors that "the fix has been put in again."

Brown spoke out after Representative Hobbs (D., Ala.) told the House he believes there was a connection between the now-defunct magazine Amerasia and Russia. Hobbs made public the long-secret record of a 1946 House investigation into the Amerasia episode, including:

1. Testimony by a Naval Intelligence officer that Naval Lieut. Andrew Roth, one of the principals arrested in the Amerasia case and later cleared, was "suspected or

alleged to be a fellow-traveler"—but Ross was "commissioned in spite of that."

2. Testimony that documents found cached in Amerasia magazine headquarters in New York included secrets from British Intelligence, U. S. Naval Intelligence, the State Department and other Government sources.

And that "every one of them bore the stamp that possession of the documents is a violation of the Espionage Act."

The latter testimony, given by a witness named "Brooks," the undercover name used by former OSS Agent Frank Bielaski, declared the warning about Espionage Act violation was "stamped all over" the documents.

On the Senate side, Senator Tydings (D., Md.) insisted that the

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Secret Record of 1945 Probe Of Amerasia Case Made Public

Amerasia case is being thoroughly investigated, and he declared:

"When a report is made, every pertinent question which has been asked about this case is going to be answered fully."

Tydings is chairman of a Senate subcommittee investigating charges by Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) that the State Department is infested with Communists and that the Amerasia case is the key to a Red network in the Government.

The wartime case involved the alleged illegal removal of State Department records and the subsequent arrest of six persons, including two State Department officials and editor Philip Jaffee of the magazine Amerasia.

Two of the six were fined; Jaffee paid \$2500. The other four were cleared.

Some Statements "Unwarranted"

On the House floor, the Amerasia incident cropped up when Representative Hobbs, who headed the 1946 investigation of the case, spoke out in reply to what he called "a large number of unwarranted statements which won't bear the light of day."

In declaring he believes there was a connection between Amerasia and Russia, Hobbs did not elaborate. He did say that when his subcommittee investigated the case, none of the material brought to its attention appeared significant.

For the first time, the Alabama legislator made the record of the House investigation a matter of public record. He did so by throwing on the table a thick file of photographed typewritten pages for the official House record.

"This is the sealed record of the Amerasia hearing," Hobbs said.

Representative Brown interrupted Hobbs to declare:

"There is a feeling throughout the Nation there has been a cover-up in the Amerasia case. More recently there have been dirty, sly little rumors floating through the cloakrooms that the fix has been put in again and that the whole thing will be covered up once more, and the whole thing white-washed again."

No Attempt to Hide Facts

Brown demanded that Congress "go to the bottom of this—let the chips fall where they may."

Hobbs said he agreed, but he said there had been no attempt by his subcommittee in 1946 to hide any facts. He said the record

was sealed at the request of Representative Dondero (R., Mich.) to avoid endangering the national security. Dondero later denied this to newsmen.

Representative Cox (D., Ga.) told the House that "if the case had been properly developed, the State Department would have been in up to its head."

In related developments:

1. Senator McCarthy demanded a new probe of his charges and denounced the current Senate investigation as a "foul job."

The Wisconsin Senator said the Senate inquiry group is "deliberately" falling down on its assigned task of "exposing alleged Communists in the Government."

As alternatives, he proposed either a Federal investigation directed by FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover and Admiral R. H. Hillenkoetter, head of the United States Central Intelligence Agency; or, an independent inquiry guided by such men as former President Herbert Hoover and Federal Judge Medina of New York.

"Mystery Man" Not Involved

2. Chairman Tydings told newsmen his subcommittee knows the name of an "internationally famed" person cited by Frank Bielaski and that the man involved has no connection with the Amerasia case.

Tydings disputed statements made in a broadcast yesterday by Bielaski, chief investigator for the wartime Office of Strategic Services, who led the first raid on Amerasia's headquarters.

Bielaski said the name of one man involved in the Amerasia case "up to his ears" had not been made public. He said the individual was "of greater fame nationally and internationally than anyone who has been mentioned in this case."

But Tydings told newsmen that Bielaski had given the name of the "famed" person in secret testimony behind closed doors, and he said Bielaski replied "No" when asked if the man had any connection with the Amerasia case.

"We asked Bielaski if he was suggesting that we investigate this man and he said 'No,'" Tydings said.

Probe to End in Three Weeks

The Maryland Senator said the committee's investigators are working on the Amerasia case now and the inquiry may be completed in about three weeks.

3. Vice President Barkley directed that the Senate Executive Expenditures Committee consider an inquiry into charges that hun-

dreds of sexual perverts are holding Government jobs. McCarthy has charged there are perverts as well as Communists in the State Department. The department has denied it.

Perverts of both sexes are regarded as poor security risks because they are potential targets for blackmail. Senator Wherry (R., Nebr.) said impounded records of the Washington Police Department, listing about 3750 homosexuals in Federal jobs in the Nation's Capital, will be available for study.

The committee is expected to assign the investigation to a subcommittee headed by Senator Hoey (D., N. C.). Senator McCarthy is a member of the subcommittee, but he told newsmen that in view of his charges he would not take part in the inquiry.

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Tydings Promises Full Report When Amerasia Probe Ends

Sen. Tydings (D) of Maryland, assured uneasy legislators today that he plans to tell "the full and complete story" of the mystery-shrouded Amerasia case.

It became apparent that the Senate itself must decide if it is to investigate sex perversion as well as communism in government.

As for the Amerasia case, Tydings told newsmen that "a lot of people are drawing conclusions about things they know nothing about."

Promises Complete Report

"I will tell the full and complete story as soon as my committee completes its investigations," he said.

Tydings is chairman of a Senate foreign relations subcommittee investigating charges by Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin, that the State department is riddled with Communists.

The Amerasia case has been a cause celebre since 1945 when six staff members of the magazine of that name were arrested on charges of stealing top secret government documents. In most instances, the charges were dropped.

Rumors of 'Fix' Heard

Rep. Brown (R) of Ohio demanded in a House speech yesterday that an investigation be made of rumors that a "fix has been put on." He said that "high officials of the government" may be involved in the alleged attempt to prevent reopening the case.

Hundreds of official documents were discovered in the offices of Amerasia magazine in a raid in 1945. Philip Jaffe, editor, and Emmanuel Larsen, State department official, paid fines then for illegal possession of official papers, but nothing was done about any espionage charges. Four others arrested in the case were freed.

The uproar in the House came when Rep. Hobbs (D) of Alabama, mittce which investigated the Amerasia grand jury, filed a heretofore secret report of his committee's findings. Hobbs denied any whitewash or coverup.

He said the bulk of the case was based on evidence seized without a search warrant and which could not be used in court. He added there was "not enough evidence to sustain a charge of espionage."

Had Bombing Plan

The report said the magazine had a copy of a U. S. plan for bombing Japan and that an alleged "fellow traveler" arrested in the case had been "forced" on naval intelligence.

The testimony included sworn statements of Frank Bielaski, former OSS employee who conducted the raid on Amerasia.

Bielaski, who said Sunday they included a memorandum on "the new bomb," testified in 1946 that the documents contained one detailing in substance, "the bombing pattern for Japan."

Bielaski in 1946 "knew nothing" of the atom bomb and could not recall any other information which might link his find with atomic material.

"Forced" on ONI

Also entered in the testimony was a statement by Capt. J. W.

Whitfield, a naval intelligence officer that Lt. Andrew Roth, one of the six arrested in the Amerasia case, was "forced" on ONI. Whitfield testified that Roth was "suspected or alleged to be a fellow traveler" but was "commissioned in spite of that."

He explained that Russia then was an ally and "the fact that an officer was a Communist was not a bar to a commission." He did not state that Roth was a Communist.

Bielaski also testified in 1946:

1. Documents found in the Amerasia office were from "British intelligence, naval intelligence, G-2, State department, office of censorship, OSS and probably others."

2. Shortly after the OSS raid, another OSS officer named Van Buren went to a meeting "where the stuff was shown to the Secretary of State."

Bielaski's secret testimony made no reference to the mystery figure he described as of "greater fame" than anyone yet named in the case, and as "an international figure."

Over in the Senate, McCarthy denounced the Tydings committee for "doing a foul job" of investigation. He demanded creation of an independent commission of "high-minded men" to probe his charges.

This commission, McCarthy said, should be appointed by Congress and should have complete access to all government personnel files, including those of the FBI, to get at the facts.

McCarthy made this suggestion informally while the Tydings subcommittee was at the White House, going over more of the 81 State department loyalty files made available by Presidential order.

The Wisconsin senator has claimed 81 departmental employees are bad security risks. The committee probably will need several more weeks to finish its work on the files.

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McCARTHY: "A REAL ONE"



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 Mr. Clegg ✓
 Mr. Glavin ✓
 Mr. Nichols ✓
 Mr. Rosen ✓
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 Mr. Mohr ✓
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 Mr. Jones ✓
 Mr. Mumford ✓
 Mr. Winterrowd ✓
 Mr. Tele. Room ✓
 Mr. Holloman ✓
 Miss Gandy ✓

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Mystery Man Story Fizzles Out

By Drew Pearson

A mysterious "internationally famous" figure supposed to be involved in the Amerasia case was tossed to newsmen as headline bait by Frank Bielaski, former OSS agent, this week.

It made headlines all right, but Senator Tydings of Maryland immediately countered that the mystery man had nothing to do with the case.



pearson

In order to clear up the mystery, this column has investigated exactly what Bielaski testified behind closed doors, also has done some checking upon Bielaski himself.

The international celebrity whom Bielaski claims "towers head and shoulders" above anyone else in the Amerasia case, is John Hersey, author of the book upon which was based the famed war picture, "A Bell for Adano" and the graphic story "Hiroshima." However, Bielaski's total recollection was that he had seen Hersey's name scrawled on an envelope in the Amerasia office, and he admitted to Senators that no link could be found between Hersey and the Amerasia magazine.

Hersey, incidentally, was never employed by the State Department or any other Government agency. It is also only fair to report that Bielaski himself was formerly an investigator for the Republican National Committee, that he now operates his own private detective agency, which is thriving on the Amerasia publicity, and that he was also involved in the famous Rhode Island wire-tapping scandal of 1940.

Finally, it is important to note that the newspaper chain which has been constantly and persistently attacking the Amerasia case is being sued for libel by Mark Gwyn of the Chicago Sun, one of those originally involved in the Amerasia case.

With this background in mind, here is Bielaski's closed-door testimony before the Tydings Subcommittee. First, he described his illegal raid on the Amerasia magazine offices, told how he broke into the library and saw the table covered with documents.

"This is something I have never repeated in public or anywhere, but which I think must be told here," Bielaski confided. "An envelope in the middle of the table was there, and written across the top of it catercornered was the name John Hersey."

It was not an envelope to my mind that was addressed to him, but as you might write your name on an envelope belonging to you," continued Bielaski.

The former OSS agent estimated that the "Hersey envelope" contained 12 to 15 documents.

"Did your investigation show that Hersey was connected in any way with the (Amerasia) magazine?" inquired Tydings.

"No, sir," Bielaski admitted. "Or that he contributed to the magazine?" pressed the Maryland Senator.

"No, sir, not a thing that showed he had any connection with the magazine at all except for documents in the envelope with his name on it," repeated Bielaski.

The private detective also backed down when Tydings asked him for information on the "disloyalty of persons in the State Department."

"Well, as to that," hedged Bielaski, "I have no firsthand knowledge of disloyalty of persons in the State Department in connection with the Amerasia case."

It was also pointed out that the Justice Department couldn't prosecute the Amerasia case, because Bielaski seized the documents illegally. This led to a clash between Republican Senator Lodge of Massachusetts and Democratic Senator McMahon of Connecticut.

Lodge brought it up by asking Bielaski: "Under what authority

did you conduct the raid on the Amerasia office?"

"I didn't ask for authority at the moment, Senator," confessed Bielaski. "But since, I have thought over the legal position, and I understand that the OSS was created by executive order (which) provided that it should take care of its own security."

This appeared to be a weak excuse and Lodge tried to be more helpful.

"Did you realize that in wars in the past the normal safeguards of search and seizure and habeas corpus had been suspended, and

probably in this war it would be right to suspend them for security of the country?" suggested the Massachusetts Senator.

"I realized we were at war, so one had stolen valuable secrets from us, and I had to try to get them, and I did," Bielaski read agreed.

"You can't set aside the Constitution in time of war," countered Tydings.

"I think they did it in time of war. He did it and got away with it," shot back Lodge. "I would have done it myself," he added.

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Ferguson Raps Probe Report on McCarthy

Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.) charged yesterday that the report on the McCarthy Communist-in-Government investigation was the most "intemperate and abusive" such document ever filed in the Senate.

Its phrasing, he said, was reminiscent of Joseph Goebbels, Nazi propaganda minister, or Andrei Vishinsky, Soviet foreign minister.

Ferguson carried into the second week the Republican criticism of the report, which called the charges by Senator McCarthy (R., Wisc.), a "hoax and a fraud" and said McCarthy had utterly failed to prove his allegations. McCarthy will talk today.

Ferguson said the report, issued by the Democratic majority of a Foreign Relations Subcommittee, "used soft words to shield those who have been careless with national security." He wondered aloud who wrote it, saying it could not have been written by Senator Tydings (D., Md.), subcommittee chairman, or his two Democratic associates, Senators McMahon of Connecticut or Green of Rhode Island. (All three signed it.)

Asks Probe of Staff

Attacking dismissal of McCarthy's charges, Ferguson said there not only ought to be a new investigation of communism in the Government, but also an investigation of the Tydings subcommittee staff.

He disclosed that in 1947, a Senate Appropriations subcommittee informed Gen. George C. Marshall, then Secretary of State, of a "deliberate, calculated program to protect Communist personnel in high places" in the State Department. The same memorandum declared that another purpose of the asserted intrigue was "to reduce security and intelligence protection to a nullity."

Replying to the memo on June 1947, the then assistant secretary of State John E. Peurifoy told the subcommittee that 10 employees, regarded as security risks, had been fired, including five

named in the memorandum.

"In addition, I expect to take action on two more cases within the next few days," Peurifoy wrote.

"Of the remaining 55 cases of individuals employed in the department, concerning whom derogatory allegations have been made, three are either resigning or are being terminated by a reduction in force, and recommendations for security clearance have been made in eight cases, which are still being considered. The remaining 44 cases will be investigated further."

Touches on Alger Hiss

Ferguson touched on Alger Hiss, former State Department official convicted of lying when he swore he did not turn over secret government data to a Soviet courier. Hiss is at liberty pending action on his appeal.

Ferguson presented a confidential memorandum written March 7, 1946, by J. Anthony Panuch, State Department security officer. In it, Panuch vigorously opposed a departmental reorganization plan attributed to Hiss. He said it would give Hiss "working control" over documents moving to and from the United States delegation to the United Nations.

"The security hazard of such a setup, if eventually accomplished, would seem to warrant the continuing interest of the FBI and other security intelligence agencies," Panuch wrote.

Ferguson said he fears the McCarthy investigation report is apt to "lull the State Department into a false sense of security."

Senator Lodge (R., Mass.), one of the two Republicans on the investigating committee protested that the printed record of the hearings omitted 45 typewritten pages of questions which he thought the committee should ask, but which it didn't.

Senator McKellar (D., Tenn.) tried fruitlessly to get the Senate headed back to debate on the \$34,700,000 single-package appropriation bill.

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Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Winterrowd	

9/12/50

Intercepted Letter

J. Edgar Hoover
Washington

Dear G-Man:

Sen. McCarthy probably is pretty sore about your arresting an atomic spy with no help from him.

Independently,

SEÑOR SAN DIEGO

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SAN DIEGO DAILY JOURNAL
SAN DIEGO
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Amerasia Case Fell Apart, Says Ex-Federal Prosecutor

By JERRY GREENE

Robert M. Hitchcock yesterday testified before a Senate investigating committee that the government's Amerasia spy case fell apart at the seams and he was lucky to get two of six defendants to pay nominal fines.

Hitchcock, Buffalo lawyer who was in charge of the prosecution of the Amerasia case in 1945, said there was no evidence of any consequence against three of the defendants. There was a flimsy case against another and the final two, who were fined, were in

a fair way to beat the rap completely.

Defense Finds Loophole

Philip Jaffe, editor of Amerasia magazine, and Emmanuel Larsen, State department official, were fined \$2,500 and \$500 respectively for illegal possession of classified government documents. An indictment against Lt. Andrew Roth, former naval officer, was finally dismissed. A grand jury refused to indict Kate Mitchell, Mark Gayn, writers, and John Stewart Service, State department foreign officer.

Larsen found the loophole in the government's case when he filed a motion to suppress evidence obtained in a search of his apartment without a warrant. Hitchcock said the government hastily got an agreement for Jaffe to plead guilty before he or his attorney learned of the Larsen move.

Thinks Sentence Inadequate

"I have never believed that Jaffe's sentence was adequate," Hitchcock told the committee headed by Chairman Tydings of Maryland. "I know that had we not disposed of Jaffe's case as we did, there would have been no conviction of Jaffe, and, of course, no punishment, even to the extent of a fine."

Hitchcock candidly told the committee how the FBI tapped telephones of the suspects for weeks and how the Amerasia offices and Larsen's home were searched several times. The Justice department hoped the defendants would not learn of these activities, he said, but Larsen's landlord inadvertently tipped him off and the motion to suppress the evidence was filed at once.

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Taft Says Tydings Unit Falls Short in Inquiry

Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio) yesterday said a special Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee has failed to conduct a "complete investigation" of Senator McCarthy's charges of communism in the State Department.

Taft was asked on the "Meet the Press" television show what he thought of the Wisconsin Republican's allegations and the investigation of them by the subcommittee headed by Senator Tydings (D., Md.).

"There is a prima facie case arising out of the [Alger] Hiss conviction, the [Julian] Wadleigh confession, the Amerasia case and Secretary [Charles] Sawyer's request for [William W.] Remington and [Michael] Lee to quit," he said.

Taft said he has "no way of knowing whether the McCarthy charges are right or not." He said that McCarthy "never asked my advice and I never advised him."

"There ought to be a complete investigation," he said. "I don't think the Tydings committee has done it."

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Amerasians Can Be Tried

By International News Service

Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin told the Senate today that defendants in the 1945 Amerasia case still can be prosecuted under federal espionage law which provides penalties up to and including death.

McCarthy's assertions were made during debate marking a speech by Sen. Knowland (R) of California, who demanded that all documents seized in the Amerasia case be made public immediately.

McCarthy contended that the statute of limitations has not run out on the Amerasia case. He said the case comes under section 794 of the U. S. criminal code, under which wartime violations may still be prosecuted.

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Hull's Amerasia Cable Reveals Pro-Red Slant

By WILLARD EDWARDS

A secret wartime cable, one of the top exhibits in the Amerasia stolen documents scandal, came to light last night. Dated July 28, 1944, and hidden for six years by the Truman administration for obvious reasons, the document bares pro-Soviet influence in the State department at top levels.

The cable is marked "Hull to Chungking" and is a confidential message to the American ambassador in China. Cordell Hull, then state secretary, resigned in November 1944. Now ailing, he was not available for comment on whether he authorized the dispatch, which bore his name, with its startling implications.

At the time the message was sent, John Carter Vincent, now minister to Switzerland, was head of the office of Chinese affairs. Alger Hiss, convicted re-information from Chinese Communists which he passed on to the late President Roosevelt.

The message also shed light on testimony before a House committee in 1946 that Amerasia was circulated in the State and other departments as "an important textbook."

The Hull message was one of 1,700 secret government papers locked from the public gaze since they were seized by the FBI in 1945 in the offices of Amerasia in New York City. A huge photostating apparatus was discovered and investigators reported there was no doubt that the magazine was being used to funnel a constant stream of confidential papers to Soviet Russia.

Jaffe and five others, including two State department officials, John S. Service and Emmanuel Larsen, were arrested in what the FBI termed an "airtight" case. Seven months later, all six were free. Two had been fined and the four other cases were dropped by the Justice department.

This paper learned the text of the Hull document shortly after James M. McInerney, chief of the Justice department's criminal division, told reporters he had studied all the documents in the Amerasia case and denied they included one, bearing the signature of Hull, plugging Amerasia cently of perjury to conceal espionage, was deputy director of special political affairs. Dean Acheson was assistant secretary of state.

The dispatch quoted the pro-Soviet magazine, Amerasia, in outlining policy for China and Japan. Earl Browder, then head of the Communist party, had a hand in the founding of Amerasia. Philip Jaffe, its editor, was arrested less than a year later for the theft of hundreds of secret documents from government departments. He finally pleaded guilty but received the light penalty of a \$2,500 fine in a deal with the Justice department into which an investigation was recently reopened.

The contents of the cable supports Communist leader Browder's boast before a congressional committee recently that he was a wartime White House agent, securing as an authoritative policy source.

The "Hull to Chungking" cable follows:

"July issue of Amerasia suggests possibility of using Japanese Susomo Okano in the role of 'Thro of Japan' to help Japanese people to establish a government which will discard aggression and the present ruling oligarchy.

"The magazine however voices uncertainty as to whether the United States State department will support the program advocated by Okano and his followers or will prefer to favor the so-called liberal elements in Japan's present ruling class.

Red Tieup Plan Cited

"The same issue proposed that the opposition to Japan throughout eastern China should be strengthened by the Allies through establishing a close working relationship with the guerrilla Communist forces now operating behind the Japanese lines and to bolster the activities with material and financial aid.

"Amerasia advocates that the allies follow the policy adopted toward the guerrilla group of Yugoslavia where political considerations were eventually superseded by military necessity.

"Amerasia claims to have information proving the northern guerrilla forces (Communists) have carried on their resistance

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to the Japanese and have persistently contributed to the work of educating the people to participate in that resistance.

"Amerasia contends the time has passed when internal political considerations can be allowed to supersede military necessity and insists the immediate reformation of the potential strength of the guerrilla (Communist) forces, involving the dispatch of liaison officers, technical aid, and munitions, has become of primary importance for the success of the United States future offense against the Japanese."

The effect of this message, backed by the prestige of Hull's name, veteran diplomats said, would have been to impress upon the recipient that the policy advocated by Amerasia was one which was receiving favorable consideration. There were no comparable messages, quoting any other publication, in the file of confidential dispatches.

Asst. Atty. Gen. McInerney also denied that the secret Amerasia documents disclosed the wartime disposition of U.S. submarines in the Pacific. One of the documents in the file is dated November, 1944, and discloses the contents of a "confidential talk by Grew to State department personnel." (Joseph C. Grew was then State undersecretary.)

This paper, apparently copied for espionage use, states definitely that the Navy would continue blocking a certain Japanese strait (named in the document) and that "25 submarines" were stationed there. Grew also disclosed, according to the document, that "island-hopping for bomber bases" was continuing and discussed the use of the Japanese emperor after the war as "an instrument for orderly peace."

Both the military and policy information in this document would have been of invaluable aid to Russia at the time, it was noted.

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Text of Hull's 44 Pro-Soviet Note Revealed

Truman and Aides
Kept Secret 6 Years

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Secret Hull Cable Bares Amerasia State Dept. Sway

(Continued from First Page)

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